

DOUBLE ISSUE

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90
1995

**ECHOES FROM THE PAST
AN ANNIVERSARY RETROSPECTIVE**

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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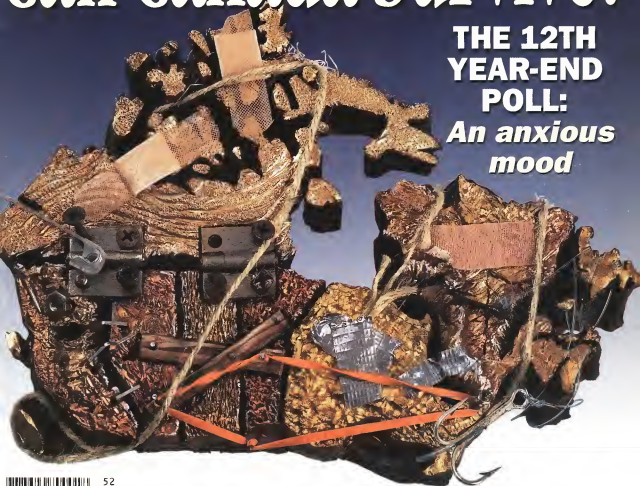
Maclean's

A Special Report with  **THE NATIONAL**

Can Canada Survive?

**THE 12TH
YEAR-END
POLL:**

***An anxious
mood***



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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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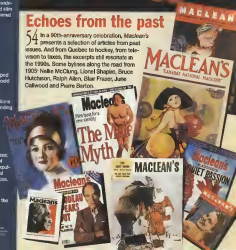
Can Canada survive?

14 The 12th annual Maclean's year-end poll, undertaken this year with the CBC's *The National*, finds Canadians in a bleaker mood than ever, and unprepared to make the compromises necessary to keep their country together. Almost one-third do not expect Canada as they know it to last until the year 2000.



Echoes from the past

54 In a 50th-anniversary celebration, Maclean's presents a selection of articles from past issues. And from Quebec to hockey, from television to taxes, the excerpts still resonate in the 1990s. Some bylines along the road from 1935: Nellie McClung, Lionel Shapiro, Bruce Hutcherson, Ralph Allen, Blair Fraser, Jane Callwood and Pierre Berton.



In Search Of A Solution

It has often been said, usually by foreigners, that Canada is a nation in search of a problem. As the year ends, it certainly is a country in search of a major fix. No one really seems to know what to do. The Prime Minister seems to be making it up as he goes along. One day, he returns to discuss the Constitution, another day, he is giving a vote to provinces that do not want one.

But in darkness, where are the other bold solutions to save the nation? And in fairness to Jean Chrétien, he is trying. A day after the referendum, he was on the phone to the premiers, trying to line up a ruling series of provincial legislative resolutions in favor of granting Quebec "distinct society" recognition. That failed, so he plunged in on his own, giving the controversial votes and stirring up a storm. He believed he had to deliver no promises made on the eve of the Quebec referendum, promises that he is convinced helped to win the whimper of a victory—promises that now have left the country divided.

There is a profound sense of unease in the land. People are losing confidence in Chrétien's Liberals to deal with national unity—an anxiety born for the party of Laurier and Trudeau. But they also are suspicious of the ever-growing premiers, who seem to want to harm the Prime Minister's Office like a kind of order desk for the premiers. The nation mood is underlined in the 12th annual Maclean's year-end survey of Canadian public opinion. Publisher Allan Gregg found data that he calls the "bleakest I have ever examined." Sovereignty associations between Quebec and Canada, he says, may be the only way out.

The bad news is that the two sides of the great divide cannot agree on a solution. What is seen as a bare minimum in Quebec is rejected out of hand by the rest of the country. Gone is support for the historic concept of two founding partners. Instead, people see 10 equal provinces. There is a "just let them go" reaction to Quebec separation and a flat rejection of special powers for Quebec.

And yet, all is not lost. A healthy majority of respondents favored

eventual changes in the Constitution to show Quebec that federalism can work. And the percentage in favor of change was strong across the country. However, more than half of the respondents in Quebec—including 50 per cent of those who voted for separation—said it would be best to leave the issue alone for a while. (I've stored it all either provision.)

All of that is good news. There is time for people to reflect, to talk, to develop new ideas. None though it may sound, there is another ray of hope in the poll—the indication that individuals can make a difference. There has been much debate about the famous referendum rally, when more than 100,000 people, thousands from across Canada, took to the streets of Montreal to show their support for federalism. The separatists made fun of the unusual outpouring of emotion and said it even helped their cause. But the Maclean's survey says otherwise. In Quebec, half the respondents said that the rally, and others like it, convinced undecided and soft Yes voters to support federalism, a view shared by six in 10 respondents across Canada. Canadians who are planning acts and gestures on the next front should take heart. They can make a difference.

That, plus the wide desire for a more decentralized Canada, provide the seeds for a solution. But it will only come if elected officials have the courage to take some risks for Canada, and start focusing instead of debating arcane constitutional points in a vacuum. Perhaps that will happen when Chrétien and eight premiers—minus Alberta's Klein and Quebec's Paréau—travel together on a trade mission to India and elsewhere in Asia in early January. Inaugure... The Agns accord? Or the Taj Mahal amendment?

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

DOUBLE ISSUE: Planning for the 12th annual year-end poll began in Quebec when editors from Maclean's and The National at CBC News sat down with pollster Allan Gregg and his associate Christine Chalmers to design what became a 90-question survey. The responses contained in the cover package—and in three reports on The National this week—are bleak, but there are ribbons of hope. "In tough times, people at least are saying they have found more inner strength," notes Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall, who oversaw the package, produced by 13 reporters and researchers.

Assistant Art Director John Edney did the design.

Alarming as the poll results are, there are lessons from the past. That, at least, is the conclusion of Assistant Managing Editor Bob Levin, who oversaw the other major project that grows this special year-end double issue: 30 excerpts from 90 years' worth of archive. "There is so much resonance in the old stories—because we've changed, but also because we haven't," he notes. From Graham O'Leary's piece on The Liberation Day in 1950 to Blair Fraser's



Levin (left), Marshall, past and present

look at a separatist who wanted to retain the Canadian dollar in 1984, readers will come away with a feeling of déjà vu. Important research for the project was contributed by Executive Editor Carl Molins, Senior Writer Tom Peacock and former senior editor David Birch, who has written a history of Maclean's.



Make room for the all new 1994 Dodge Caravan. It's the first minivan ever to win the coveted Motor Trend Car of the Year award. Like the new Plymouth Voyager and Chrysler Town & Country, Caravan has been redesigned from the ground up. With over 200 innovations and improvements, there's no other minivan like it. Or car, for that matter.



Republic of Canada

Oh boy Peter C. Newman, you've done it now! You have just offended every rational monarchist in this country. "The time has come to declare a republic," *The Nation's* *Business*, Dec. 141. I have long supported the idea of a Canadian republic so that we can cast off the colonial mentality that has existed in this country and has stunted the realization of our potential.

R. G. Shelding,
Sarnia, Ont. 18



The Queen as Crowned in 1952: tradition

as many of our current provincial governments have simply demonstrated.

John Thompson,
Ottawa 18

Curds and gravy

Prattise—on Pratt? Scumb! Oh well, I've found scum in the Northwest Territories. (Putting powder on the rocks—*in* Paris.) Opening Notes, Dec. 4.

Robert Levin,
Guelph, N.Y.

On the books

The book industry is not opposed to competition, and it definitely does not want to be ruled by an oligopoly ("Chaper and vice," *The Nation's* *Law*, Dec. 141). Indeed it is precisely our concern that the entry of new U.S. retailers into this small market will reduce competition to a small number of sellers, instead of the wide variety that currently exists. However, if Canadian publishers lose

control of the distribution network, consumers may lose access to the depth and breadth of Canadian books that are published. *Americans* undermined the balance within their industry and control it well. Canadians are attempting to exercise the same control over our own industry.

Nelson Huxley,
Publisher and President, Roth Cow Press,
Toronto

Making it clear

Your story "RCMP under fire" (*Cover*, Dec. 4) states that I publicly suggested that the RCMP investigation into *Arctic* payments was "launched at the behest of the *Star's* Liberal spinners." I said nothing of the sort at any time in any interview.

Sharon Pat Carney,
Ottawa

'Unsung heroes'

I am sure it was not your intention when writing about the *Maclean's* 50th birthday celebration, but the high profile you afforded stories such as Pierre Berton, Peter C. Newman and Jean Calvé led to the important role the *Maclean's* has played in the development of Canada's most important magazine. ("A night to remember," *From the Editor*, Nov. 27. My father, Donald F. Berton, admired the magazine's photojournalism department through the vital months of 2001 in advance of the magazine's transition to weekly publication, after already having marched through the vast technological changes encompassing *Maclean's* history for the previous quarter century.) Yes, some great Canadians have written for *Maclean's* over the years, but please pay equal homage to those who made this look even greater.

Joe Bantz,
Alexandria, Ont.



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Maclean's

CANADA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL MAGAZINE

90

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"Save yourself" I said.
But no one listened.
Then midnight struck just
the virus was unleashed!
People panicked and prayed
in every house in the village,
but too late.
Without protection,

you're hosed when a virus sneaks into your hard drive."

IBM's labs have a massive
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LETTERS

No matter what

I would like to congratulate Allan Fotheringham for his insight into the life of actor Bruce Gervin ("Not a Shakespearean actor, laughing," Dec. 6), a man who knew how, why and where he was going—regardless of what others thought.

J. A. Boudreau,
Edmonton

Different strokes

No doubt you have been inundated with angry letters from the champions of political correctness over your choice of Pamela Lee as a cover subject ("The most famous Canadian?" Nov. 27). Still, I can't help wondering what offends this gloomy group more, that Lee is so beautiful and sexy, or simply that she's smiling in that cover photo?

De Wae,
Dunsmuir, Ont.

If I win! requests about TV appearances such as *Deputy's* Pamela Lee, I have plenty of choice at supermarket checkout coun-



Gervin:
he knew
where
he was
going

ters. When I subscribed to *Marathon*, I thought I would get to know about Canada and a Canadian view of the world. Fiddleheads, Brune Lake duck and Pacific salmon are a better diet than chocolate.

William Sharpe,
Toronto, Ont.

Wrong conclusions

In your article "Values issue" (*Business*, Oct. 20), you clearly tried to give a balanced picture of the situation between the Big Three automakers and the Canadian Auto Workers union regarding pending changes to Ontario labour laws. But Steve Law, spokesman for General Motors of Canada Ltd., indicated that the labour dispute was behind a GM leader's abrupt resignation from the United Way campaign. I am the leader referred to, and the reason for my resignation was considerably deeper than Law's conclusion. GM has withdrawn its cooperation in personal campaigning through its plants, which it had allowed for more than 30 years, and I had no alternative but to withdraw my volunteer services from the United Way. As I told Law when I read your article, "You put back the 60 canvassers on the floor tomorrow, and I'm back as chairman of the campaign the same day."

John Kasman,
President, Local 225, CWA,
Oakville, Ont.

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Each year the Ontario Lottery Corporation provides millions of lottery dollars to help support the arts and cultural activities in Ontario.

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Even though you can't always see it, the Ontario Lottery Corporation touches us all.



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So regardless of how big or small your innovations are (the IMOS film sensor was invented by a Canadian, as was the zipper), we encourage you to submit them. And who knows, you may even get your picture in the paper.

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Nominations close February 15 of each year.



BORDEAUX: PLAYGROUND TO BACCHUS



Bacchus, god of wine! As soon as he was given, he inspired on a journey through the world to share the cultivation of wine. When he arrived in the Bordeaux region of France, he scooped the best of his life. In return, Bacchus endowed Bordeaux with the grapes and human qualities essential to the production of the world's best-known fine wines.

Where are these famous Bordeaux vineyards? They cover approximately 100,000 hectares of land around the city of Bordeaux, in south-western France. From the Gironde estuary, the region stretches 150km to the south and 100km from east to west.

With what qualities did Bacchus endow Bordeaux for the production of such fine wines? Blessed are noble grape varieties and the unique Bordeaux blend.

BLESSED SOIL NORSE GRAPE VARIETIES UNIQUE BORDEAUX BLEND

Located on the 45th parallel, Bordeaux has a temperate climate warmed by the Gulf Stream and protected from the high winds of the Atlantic by the pine forests of the Landes. It has hot summers, crisp autumns, winters with rare frosts and springs that are wet.

Because of the large surface covered by the vineyards, a wide variety of soils: gravelly, chalky, sandy and clayey - can be found. It is therefore common for a single property to grow different varieties of grapes adapted to the different soils found on its parcel of land. It is the blending of the different grape varieties that

gives the complexity and the richness to Bordeaux wines. This is in contrast to other wine-producing regions and countries where the wine is often the product of a single grape variety.

The famous wine-makers of Bordeaux now produce a wide variety of fine reds, whites (dry and sweet), olivants and rosés. Think of it: more than 10,000 châteaux and an average of 600 red wines produced annually!

BORDEAUX - QUALITY CONTROL

Even with the perfect alliance of the God-given regional attributes, all would come to nothing if the Bordeaux did not put their intelligence into the wine-making process and if there were not a regulating body to maintain quality control standards.

Bordeaux has a long history in wine culture, dating back to the Romans and to the English in the Middle Ages. It was during the World Exhibition of 1855 that French Emperor Napoleon III requested that wine-producing regions establish a classification system for the red and white wines of Gironde. It is the most famous wine classification system in the world.

Since 1935 the wine of Bordeaux must answer to much stricter regulations relating to the purity and the consistency of the local production methods (number of vines per hectare, minimum authorized production per hectare etc.). They are called "Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée" (AOC). The wines receive the AOC label which must appear on each bottle, only

after submitting to a tasting under the National Institute of Controlled Appellation of Origins (INAO). So when consumers purchase a Bordeaux they are assured of a product above standard! Today, there are 54 different appellations, classified into six categories for all tastes and at all prices: red dry white sweet white, rose, Grand and sparkling wine.

BORDEAUX - BLENDING AND HEALTH

The wines of Bordeaux are 60 percent red and 40 percent white. What differences in red wine from a white wine? Its method of production and its life span.

With few exceptions, Bordeaux is a blend of grapes allowing each vine to bring out the best of each variety in one perfectly balanced package. The whites, both dry and sweet, are generally a blend of Semillon and Sauvignon blends that often contain a touch of Muscadelle. The Semillon's soft oily structure is the perfect foil to the crisp fresh fruit and acidity of the Sauvignon blend while the Muscadelle's prominent floral attributes tends to lift the entire wine's outlook.

Red Bordeaux is simply a benchmark for blended wine. It begins with Merlot the widest planted grape variety in the region. An early ripener, it brings a soft, supple, fleshy character to the vat exemplified in whole by the wines grown along the right bank of the Gironde.

The Cabernet Sauvignon grape dominates the vineyards of the Médoc bringing a full-bodied wine to the blend. Long on tannins and generally

firm in the mouth, it requires several years of bottle maturation before revealing its true nature.

The other prominent component of the blend is the Cabernet Franc. More herbaceous than Merlot, it is perhaps best described as a kinder gentler version of the Cabernet. Sauvignon. It decidedly smells of raspberries. Plant Vertus (a late ripener that adds colour and alcohol) and Malbec (a variety low in alcohol but high in acid rounds out the blend).

But the blending isn't just about grapes. Much of the Bordeaux lifestyle is woven by the influence of its winemakers and their technology. Blessed with a history that spans several centuries, the region's winemakers bring a wealth of experience to the modern winemaking process. Included in this are up-to-date viticulture practices such as dense planting, alcohol thinning and green harvesting that ensure concentrated, highly flavoured grapes are delivered to the winery door.

The winemaking itself is a highly sophisticated affair that begins with a temperature-controlled fermentation of mostly hand-sorted grapes. Although some select whites are now fermented in wood, stainless steel fermentation is widespread leading to clean, crisp modern whites and full-bodied reds.

From here the wine can move directly to bottle or into oak barrels for further aging. Depending upon the winemaker's wish, it could then spend anywhere 6-24 months aging in the wood. The percentage of new oak used varies at each chateau. While some winemakers use only 100 percent new oak, others may use none at all. In general, the formula is closer to one-third new oak, one-third one-year old barrels and one-third two-year old casks.

A further selection is made of bottles to produce the grand vin and in many cases now a second label as well. Of special note is the percentage of grapes found in the blend. Usually they do not strictly mirror the percentages planted in the field reflecting other vintage variations or simply the stylistic preferences of the winemaker.

Once inside the bottle it undergoes its final and most important transformation. It is here the subtle nuances that are the hallmark of fine Bordeaux are born. The ultimate agability of many of these wines is very much linked to the vintage and production process. In a normal year, most non-classified wine can be opened between the three and six year mark. In outstanding vintages the great whites will age a minimum of 2-6 years while the reds may require as much as a decade to mature. With the possible exception of the grand or merchant wines, almost all Bordeaux improves with age.

PAIRING BORDEAUX WITH INTERNATIONAL FOODS

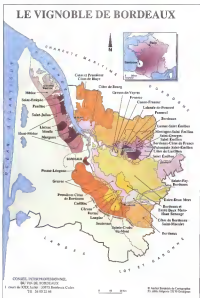
Multicultural societies, such as are found in Canada, have adopted many tastes from many different countries. A Bordeaux wine with its complexity lends itself perfectly to pairing with any type of cuisine. You can add a little creativity, a little license to your dining experience with a carefully chosen Bordeaux!

A last simple meal of meat or poultry? Try it with a "Côte de Bordeaux" a "Bordeaux" or a "Bordeaux Supérieur". What could one possibly drink other than tea or soda with any of the Oriental cuisines? A classic choice for fine adventures could be a red Bordeaux - Medoc or Saint-Emilion. Start your meal

with a white Bordeaux AOC as an appetizer. You could choose another if you prefer fish - Entre-Deux-Mers or Graves for example.

Your tastes are on the sweet side? Why not crown your dessert, such as cheesecake, with a sweet wine, or enhance your apple or peach pie with a Sauternes?

With all its great qualities, Bordeaux's ability to complement a wide range of food is perhaps its most redeeming. A unique blend of the past and present, Bordeaux has been described as "the wine that travels and a traveler's wine". A perfect occasion to describe a wine that remains a classic but which is never out of fashion.



Hockey's hurly-burly origins

For decades, hockey has been taking off the gloves over their differing views of the sport originated. The vicious Don Cherry, star of *After the Game*, is Canada's loudest cheerleader, insisting that his home town of Kingston, Ont., is hockey's birthplace. But both the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto and the Society for International Hockey Research, a Kingston-based group of hockey historians, say he is offside. They maintain that the first official game was played on March 3, 1873, in Montreal. James Creighton, the story goes, was a member of the Montreal Football Club who taught the team to play a game with sticks and a puck during the winter to stay in shape for the football season.

Hockey in Montreal in 1880: evolving

A chill in Ottawa's relations with Paris

Once Paris relations, usually suspicious at the best of times, have deteriorated even further since Jacques Chirac's election to the French presidency last May. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien dismissed Chirac before his election by saying he had an excellent chance of winning as the Québec referendum had of passing. Now, it's pay back time for Chirac—his government has rebuffed over its sympathy for Québec's separatist aspirations. When Chrétien asked to visit on the way back from the francophone summit in Africa earlier

But, now, a new contender moves both the date and the site. Don Garth Vaughan, 67, a retired surgeon from Windsor, N.S., who became interested in the subject after listening to the tales of former players, says that 19 years of research have convinced him that it all began in Windsor's early last century.

Vaughan makes his argument in *The Back Street Hockey*, which Penguin Books will distribute this spring. The famed Montreal Canadiens, he says, was just part of the evolution of modern hockey that began much earlier. "The game has been evolving since the first game of hockey on the ice in Long Road in Windsor in the early 1800s," he says. He adds that the earliest hockey equipment, notably specialized skates and sticks, also originated in Nova Scotia. Vaughan hopes, but has he scored?

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this month Chirac offered to speak here in at 5:30 p.m.—which the Chrétien campaign decried as insulting. In contrast, the French granted Québec dignity by inviting Bernard Lortie, an advisor with Chirac on the way to the summit and a doctor in his home at the French Senate on the way home.

Officials in Ottawa acknowledge that they are harassed by Chirac's gaffe and by a lack of influence with the new government on the part of Canadian ambassador to Paris, Bourdieu, who earlier called Philippe Seguin, president of the French National Assembly, a "boose cannon."

"We've got to get someone in there who can get the French to take their calls," said one Canadian diplomat ahead of the Paris summit. Frequently suggested is Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Charest. But Liberal advisors say that he is unlikely to be willing to report to his own successor. Rather, they want Liberals expect Bourdieu to be dumped within weeks.

Chrétien and Chirac: derivative concerns



Beland: debunking misconceptions

Out and about, collecting language

Canadians are well-known for a certain verbal tic: it's Dr. Mary Beland, who teaches linguistics at Memorial University, believes there are at least a million more ways in which English-Canadian speak distinct dialects. For the past two years, she and Sabine Heggie, a professor in the university's computer science department, have been gathering examples of spoken and written Canadian English. They have done their research material from sources as diverse as scientific manuscripts, courtroom transcripts, business transactions and everyday conversations. Their project is the Canadian counterpart to the International Corpus of English that a British firm plans to publish in printed, audio and electronic form by the end of the century. Twenty other countries and regions are participating in the project.

Beland says their work has already debunked a common misconception among Canadians about low levels of education at the linguistic. "Many people think that someone with university education and someone with little education will sound different," she says. "If they came from the same part of the country, it's more likely they will sound the same, because the way they talk is usually more reflective of the region in which we live."

When Jackie and Oleg reigned

For most of this century, Paris has been the fashion capital of the world. But for a brief period in the early 1960s, Jacqueline Kennedy, the young wife of the president of the United States, was fashion's reigning queen. Her signature look—including the pillbox hats and A-line dresses—was created especially for her by New York City-based designer Oleg Cassini. A Thousand Days of Magic, Cassini's memoirs, have been written by John F. Kennedy took the oath of office on Jan. 20, 1961, Jackie, then just 35, knew that her every move would be watched. As a result, she was determined to set trends, not follow them. Both her inaugural gowns, in Swiss style, and the fawn-colored wedding dress she wore to the inauguration were revolutionary in their simplicity. But Cassini writes that it was not until the Kennedy made their first foreign state visit—to Ottawa in May 1961—that she stepped onto fashion's international stage. For that trip, the designer created, among other outfits, a red wool suit inspired by the 1940s uniform. In a letter dated May 23, 1961, and reprinted in the book, Kennedy reveals her gratitude. "I want to tell you in the midst of all



Kennedy in Ottawa: nothing trends

this time lately—that I think you have been just great," she wrote to Cassini. "You have what everyone and about my clothes in Canada, and I hope it made you happy." Clinton not only made the man—hey can set the tone for entire administrations.

Directorial Asperations

Media mogul Larry Asper turned media man into producer when he produced the first season of the TV series *Trudeau*, a prime-time series that will debut on Feb. 1. Asked him to pull up a chair and sit on the set, Asper, chairman and CEO of Winnipeg-based CanWest Global Communications Corp., made a cameo appearance as a guest producer during a cocktail party scene in an upcoming episode of the series, which tells the story of a high-powered Toronto banker trying to survive a scandal. The *Trudeau*



Asper: a cameo for the boss

WC takeover," he laughed. Give a guy a camera and before long he wants to be a director.

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada according to box office receipts during the seven days that ended on Dec. 14 (in dollars; weekend of accumulation shown)

1. <i>Toy Story</i> (147th)	\$3,208,706
2. <i>Outbreak</i> (214th)	\$2,772,889
3. <i>Johnny Suede</i> (215th)	\$2,772,889
4. <i>Johnny Suede</i> (215th)	\$2,772,889
5. <i>Johnny Suede</i> (215th)	\$2,772,889
6. <i>Johnny Suede</i> (215th)	\$2,772,889
7. <i>The American President</i> (191st)	\$2,142,142
8. <i>The American President</i> (191st)	\$2,142,142
9. <i>The American President</i> (191st)	\$2,142,142
10. <i>The American President</i> (191st)	\$2,142,142

SOURCE: NIELSEN ENTERTAINMENT DATA INC.

BEST SELLERS

FICTION	
1. <i>Shirley Sans the Very Cold</i> , Sheri McLean (3)	
2. <i>A Fine Balance</i> , Arundhati Roy (2)	
3. <i>The Great Book of the Year</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
4. <i>The Hundred Years War</i> , Amy Tan (3)	
5. <i>The Collected Works of Shakespeare</i> (2)	
6. <i>Shakespeare and the Angel of Death</i> , John G. Sweeney (3)	
7. <i>The Mummy's Last Days</i> , Robert B. Weir (3)	
8. <i>Hope, Love, Death</i> (3)	
9. <i>Ones to Watch</i> , David Brown (3)	
10. <i>The Island of the Blue Dolphins</i> , Uretha R. Hall (3)	

2 | Fiction last week

NONFICTION	
1. <i>The Canadian Revolution</i> , Peter C. Newman (3)	
2. <i>The Road Ahead</i> , Bill Gates (2)	
3. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
4. <i>The House Book</i> , Bill Gates (3)	
5. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
6. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
7. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
8. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
9. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	
10. <i>Non-fiction Writing</i> , Robert Gage (3)	

Compiled by Susan Wilson

WORE By mixing director Jacques Villeneuve, 34, the Los March Trophy, by the Canadian athlete of the year; by a vote of sports editors at three Toronto newspapers, The Canadian Press and CBC Sports host Brian Williams. Villeneuve, also a member of the 1995 Montreal's Grand Prix, this year won the Indy Car drivers' championship and the major race of that circuit, the Indianapolis 500, by crossing the first Canadian to win either of those events. Next year, Villeneuve will compete on the Formula One circuit after signing a multi-year, multi-million-dollar contract to drive for the Williams-Renault team.

EXPLAINING Montreal's CIBC chairman Bill Gates, 40, and his wife, Melinda, French, a Montreal manager, their first child, son May, according to a company spokesman in Montreal. With Gates, who has had to extend to give 95 per cent of his wealth, has a fortune estimated at \$20.3 billion.

RELEASED Actor Christopher Reeve, 43, from a New Jersey rehabilitation centre, after nearly seven months of therapy following his paralyzing fall from a horse. Reeve is unable from the neck down, can breathe for 15 minutes without a respirator and uses a wheelchair to communicate with his doctors.

AGRIED By actress Kim Basinger, 42, to pay up to \$6.2 million to settle a dispute with movie producer Brian Koppelman over her decision to walk out of the 1995 film *Boys n the Beach*, about a woman who seduces the lovers of a woman he loves, in Los Angeles. The role was later played by Sherrylin Fenn.

DIED Former actor Douglas (Wrong Way) Corrigan, 85, an international folk hero after his celebrated 1938 transatlantic flight, in Los Angeles. Corrigan, who had been drafted previously by various authorities for his proposed flight to Europe, 240, a flight plan from New York City to Los Angeles, had landed in Ireland 28 hours later. He always maintained publicly that a faulty compass had led him wrong.



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COLUMN



The ex-separatist who wants to save Canada

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Guy Bertrand was an ex separatist who ran for the leadership of the Parti Québécois in 1985. But he quit the independence struggle in November, 1994, because he realized that Quebec already enjoyed a "de facto sovereignty association" within Canada, and that independence was unnecessary and too risky to pursue. So he took the Parti Québécois to court during the referendum and scored an important constitutional victory. The court ruled that any attempt to unilaterally alter the status of the province would be a "Yes" vote, which would be illegal. Not surprisingly, Bertrand has since been shunned by and alienated from friends and family. His separatist brother, Philippe, campaign leader René Lévesque, has not talked to him since, but he is convinced more than ever that the separatists are wrong.

"It's impossible to be more sovereign if we separate than we are now. Why? Because we are sovereign within the Constitution, due to our language, culture, with the civil code, with our distinct institutions, and so on as striking our language," he says. "What Mr. Huchard was playing—the partnership—was to have the same things we have in common with the rest of the country: air, water, power, currency, the Queen. So why separate? It's about a symbolic act as the United Nations and a national anthem. That's no reason to separate. It's empty. If it was impossible to keep our French language and identity and culture, that would justify leaving, but that's not the case."

The earlier treatment of the anglophone minority in Quebec has also bothered Bertrand. "I'm not sure many English-speaking people would have stayed in Quebec after a declaration of independence. We lost 170,000 between 1975 and 1980. How many would leave Quebec if we separate? A poll in March said that a minimum of 500,000 would leave Quebec and possibly one million," he says. "The anglophone minority was here in 1700, almost as long as we were. This is totally unjust to run them out."

Bertrand, a 55-year-old lawyer, took these convictions to court and convinced the Superior Court of Quebec that the PQ's intention to declare unilateral independence one year after a Yes vote was illegal because it would be a unilateral change of the Constitution. Bertrand also argued that a unilateral declaration of independence would jeopardize his fundamental rights under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, particularly the right to move within Canada, to vote and to hold a Canadian passport.

The judge agreed that the legislation was unconstitutional because it circumvented the Charter of Rights without a proper amendment to the Constitution. In essence, the judge stated categorically that no Canadian can be stripped of his passport, vote or rights to move within the country without the consent of all Canadians through constitutional amendment. But the judge declined to impose an injunction, which would have stopped the referendum from happening. He said that any unilateral declaration of independence would be unconstitutional, although the vote itself could go ahead.

'We were fanatics, always thinking we were right. Then, I realized that separatism was not good for Quebec. We must learn to live together.'

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losing an injunction against the vote, he ruled, could create a more serious wrong than the one he was trying to prevent.

Bertrand is now taking his case all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada to establish that even any vote on independence without a prior amendment to the Constitution is illegal. He should be massively backed by English Canada. "I left the Parti because I opened my eyes," he says now. "We were fanatics always thinking we were right. I decided to question myself. What if I'm wrong? I remembered the arguments of some of the federalists and I started to understand that maybe they were right. I felt that we could not impose our old constitutional quarrels on the next generation. I realized that the separatist option was not good for the Quebec society. When they decided to have a new referendum, I asked to give Philippe the job. So I wrote to him and told him that this option would cause permanent damage to the Canadian and Quebec societies, and I couldn't defend it any more. I decided we cannot gain our whole life trying to separate. We must learn how to live together."

Bertrand said he studied other democracies and discovered that Canada was a model society just as it is. "I started reading about federalism in other countries like Switzerland, the United States and Australia. I found out that we had the best federalism in the world, most developed. In the 25 years from now people around the world will find out that this federalism we have—a de facto sovereignty association—is the model."

"This country is only a little child, not 120 years old. Children make mistakes. We cannot destroy a country because we have some administrative problems such as power, water, immigration, communication or manpower shortage. We're not going to destroy a country for this? That's ridiculous."

Bertrand, like most of us, is fed up with the federalist political mishmash of the recent years. "There, the other should take in their hands this responsibility to protect this country because the politicians have not," he says. "During the campaign, the Liberals didn't talk about the danger of trying to separate unilaterally even though my case was not victorious. The Liberals said that. When you have a government not defending the Constitution or protecting the Charter of Rights and the rule of law, that's the end. That's what the government in this line. The Charter of Rights is the most important thing in this country."

That is why Bertrand wants the Supreme Court of Canada to give him an injunction preventing Quebec from ever again passing a bill in its national assembly giving the power to secede without amending the federal Constitution. The rule of law is Canada's most important cornerstone, and the bench—rather than the ballot box—must save the nation from misadventures by the separatist leaders. And if that is the case, Canadians will have a courageous former separatist, Guy Bertrand, to thank for that.

Can Canada Survive?

For 12 years, pollster Allan Gregg has worked closely with Maclean's in designing and conducting the magazine's pre-sent survey, which tracks the mood of the nation. Through tough times and good, Canadians have bared their souls on issues ranging from finances—personal and national—to the state of their sea lives. The respondents' opinion has tended to dip when things were not going well for the nation. But, Gregg notes, never before have their answers been at bleak as they are this year. In the accompanying analysis, Gregg, chairman of Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel Inc., explains why this year's poll, conducted for Maclean's and The National, has convinced him, for the first time, that Canada is on the verge of falling apart.

BY ALLAN R. GREGG

The unshakable conviction to be drawn from this poll is that Canadians still find their country today less than appealing to the people we grew up with and the place where we grew up. The responses also point to a high likelihood that Canada, as we have come to know it, will never be the same again. Despite the attention being paid to Quebec's aspirations, patriotism over that issue is only increasing. This poll has forced me to conclude that there is no way we will be able to maintain those attributes of Canada that we hold most dear short of accepting that some form of sovereignty-negotiation is inevitable.

Surely, no doubt, will note that those of us who try to understand, chronicle and study societal change have a vested interest in predicting consistent new directions about the public conscience and popular culture. Undoubtedly for our discipline, the researchers' need for new focus areas has almost always outstripped their ability to find them. But I have to state that, in 20 years of analyzing poll results, this year's set of findings has the likelihood I have ever examined. To appreciate the foundation of our grain consciousness, however, those findings have to be viewed against the backdrop of our understanding of the Canada that was.

Since the Second World War, North American society has been propelled forward by an overriding ethos that held that progress was neutral, that the human condition was destined to evolve ever upward, and that future generations are to be taught to expect that they will improve upon, add to and inherit from the place that they inhabit. That value system termed the cornerstone of our common outlook, and our experience reinforced our optimistic view of the world and our place in it.

From time to time, the public's mood would darken and the population would report that certain aspects of Canadian life had worsened. But those swings invariably moved in tandem with equally predictable economic cycles, and were always paralleled with an underlying, optimistic view that, in time, we would return once again to our "normal" pattern of constant improvement.

In the past 10 years, that tradition has become both

more common and more pronounced than in any other period over the past 50 years. Canadians are no longer as individuals and as a nation, that we lived problems, and we were increasingly prone to vent our anger at those we held responsible for the creation of those problems. This new-foundness, we also held that, no matter how bad those problems were, or how low a regard we held those created with the responsibility for solving them, better times lay ahead.

As recently as last year, our analysis of the 1994 Maclean's national poll concluded: "Canadians still feel they share enough common ground, that the country is sufficiently strong to weather those storms and, in the end, that they can regroup and overcome the adversity of the past 30 years." This year's poll suggests that if that optimism was correct in 1994, it most certainly is not in 1995.

Today, almost one in three Canadians—and every second Quebecer—expresses a belief that by the end of this decade, our nation, as we know it, will cease to exist. If that finding stood in isolation, it might be dismissed as a temporary hiccup in the "canadian dream" (letting that be the euphemism for the "canadian dream" experience of the Oct. 30 referendum in Quebec: that it does not, and it will be no more to us).

Much more fundamentally, Canadians believe that virtually everything about Canada—not only has not gone as well as it has in the past—but is now in jeopardy. In other words, our nation's identity and self-respect are in jeopardy. That we can expect continued optimism as we move into the future, a tendency that is benign not only to past research findings, but to the very underpinnings of our popular culture. Moreover, those areas where this pessimism is anticipated most are the same ones that best define Canada's unique sense of national identity and self-respect: our environment, our social values, the opportunities for advancement afforded to our young people and our economic prosperity. In short, Canadians report that, not only is their outlook for the future negative, but that the aspects of Canadian life that have given us a vision sense of purpose and character will cease to exist—only as pale imitations of what they were.

These findings also give voice to much more than merely our collective pessimism. They demonstrate quite clearly our absolute lack of faith in the existing leadership to put a brake on, let alone reverse, the pattern of deterioration of recent years. Even with all the leaders' own governments' efforts to finally come to grips with the deficit, to more than two per cent of the population believe that problems will be eliminated by the year 2000.

As the people wait for the world around them to deteriorate, they appear to be trying to insulate themselves from external threats through an increased quest for signposts and a greater search for solace and affection from their personal partners. Outside of their major well-being, however, they expect virtually all other aspects of Canadian life to diminish and decline. It is not as if Canadians believe some aspects of their lives will worsen while others improve, nothing is destined to be on the upswing—except perhaps sentencing for criminals. (Given that can be viewed as part of a larger pattern of decline.) After all, the belief in rehabilitation has always been the prerogative of a population that embraced the prospect of improvement for all, including society's worst elements.

Taken together, these attitudes provide the most alarming aspect of the poll. Because if the population truly has the qualities that bind and define us as a people are in decline, then it follows that the country that we have fought for and defended in the past will be less lively today in the future.

Having lived of the security, order, and fairness, attempts to achieve constitutional accord, English-speaking Canada appears to be losing its resolve to embrace Quebec and their aspirations to their best. (That is the case even though they acknowledge that the large federalist vote in Montreal just before the referendum appears to have helped the No side.) But Quebecers, far from growing weary, seem to have been emboldened by the referendum, propelled even closer to the poll-enforced by the loss of national sovereignty.

As I look at these findings I see very little cause for optimism that the public opinion here of the nation is strong enough to hold Canada together. Certainly it would not withstand the storms of another election

in the near future. Quebecers are increasing in confidence that sovereignty is inevitable. More to the point, they appear to have bought into the proposition that they have little to lose and that a deteriorating Canada offers less reasons to stay. While less concerned of the possibility of a breakup of the country, English-speaking Canadians hold a increasingly unattractive view that their future is based on a partnership of 30 equal provinces that entitles Quebec to absolutely nothing that would not be available to all. Taken together, these attitudes are a prescription not only for paralysis—as we have seen—but for fracture.

Quebecers and other Canadians also felt the recent election results signalled the end for reform and change. Beyond that simple acknowledgment, however, not only is there a consensus, there are outright opposing views as to the scope, timing or nature of what those changes should encompass. More pointedly, the poll makes clear what so many of us have intuitively come to sense—namely that nothing short of a direct action to control the destiny of their province will satisfy Quebecers and that anything that even comes close to satisfying that desire will be fully rejected by the rest of the country. In fact, the only political solution that might hold the country together appears to be an overture that would allow us give the rest of the nation precisely what Quebec wants—a massive devolution of powers to all provinces.

While that solution might seem appealing to some political leaders and the electorate itself, it raises a basic question with a resolution that sees as defining attributes winning, what forces would remain to bind us together if power is merely transferred to the provinces without any offsetting changes to our national institutions? My suspicion is that this question would cause citizens among more than Trudeau's followers and cabinet defenders of the colonialist status quo.

All the indicators point to a Yes win in any referendum vote on the sovereignty issue. What is more, the poll findings suggest that Meech/Charlottetown-type attempts at constitutional reform (and the federal government's recent initiative in late 1994) may have a working chance of success. However, to accommodate Quebec and far too much for English Canada to swallow. And besides that, Canadians believe those characteristics that have bound us together as a unique country and people are destined to waste and disappear. In that case, why would we see any sense in that, or represent as constituency, would be able to secure the national recognition with a new and satisfying vision of the future?

The combination of factors presented in this poll, without issue, core of national consciousness, will see Canada hurtling towards its own destruction. The combination of these same factors leads me to believe that any continuation, in whole or in part, of the federal pact/ veto-point/incremental-changes-to-federalism approach to holding the country together, no matter how imaginative or how cleverly cloaked, simply will not work.

In fact, I see only one solution to this dilemma. And it would require an outright surrender that Quebec will become, at best, one of the sovereign-associated states. That proposition would be a startling point—even before any new referendum in Quebec—for negotiations for what would become and remain of our nation. In short, the single best option available could be the one offered in 1990 by then-Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa: the creation of a "superstructure" government, it could be responsible for monetary policy, trade, defence and treaty making, carried with responsibilities and mechanisms standards and "values", and leaving all other matters to "community-based" regional and provincial governments—hardly the nation envisioned by John A. Macdonald or Wilfrid Laurier. Only something as radical as ideas as federalism in crisis, I believe, will prevent us from slipping into this future even less acceptable than the rather pathetic one Canadians are anticipating today. □

A despondent nation seems unwilling to make the necessary compromises

Visions of an ex-tinct society

With attitudes hardening, a solution to the unity crisis appears increasingly unlikely

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

A community of communities? A union of 10 equal provinces? A post-bonnet two-ness, with the natives, among three—floating peoples? A neo-sovereign nation that became a nation despite its status and cultural differences? Throughout the country's 128-year history, a has always been clear to be Canadian than to define the qualities that make one "Canada" and Canadian as the guru Marshall McLuhan, "in the only country in the world that knows how to live without an identity." If only that were true! Arguably, the real problem with Canadians is not that they have no notion of their country's identity, but rather that they have too many. Which of the above concepts best defines Canada? The answer changes according to the part of the country where the question is asked. Even describing themselves just as Canadian will not do for many citizens, who also define themselves according to language or ethnic group, the region or province they came from—or, in the case of sovereignist Quebecers, by the fact that they do not want to be Canadians at all.

As Canadians contemplate the approach of a new referendum, a disturbing number—more than one in four—doubt whether the country they have known will survive to greet it. That is in sharp contrast to the upbeat public declarations of Prime Minister Jean Chretien and other political leaders about the collective will of Canadians to stay united. To a degree that is unprecedented in the 12 years that this nation has been taking its annual year-end sampling of the nation's mood, the 1995 Maclean's/CBC News poll finds that Canadians view their country's future with a pessimism that borders on outright despair. Divided by regional, linguistic, age and income differences, respondents disagree on many issues—but they are remarkably united in their belief that their society's few years down the road will be sadder and poorer than it is now. To wit: over 90 per cent of Canadians believe that such factors as welfare, unemployment insurance and old age pensions will be drastically reduced or eliminated altogether; more than six out of 10 say that free universal access to health care will be curtailed or abandoned; one in three Canadians actively expects Canada to be a worse place to live

THE RALLY FACTOR

61% think the trip to the polls in Montreal and elsewhere just before the referendum accomplished their aim of attracting voters to the separatist cause

- Most likely to believe that: **Ontariorians at 60%**
- Least likely to believe that: **Quebecers at 58% (with little difference between those who say they voted Yes—51%—and those who say they voted No—54%)**

Maclean's poll suggests that Canadians deserve the political representation that they have. Lucien Boivin's Blue Quebecers is an appropriate representative of the majority of Quebecers who say that they would vote Yes to sovereignty in another referendum. And Premier Manning's Reform party can claim to speak for the 11 per cent of Canadians who supported decentralization of powers and the 67 per cent of Canadians who said the country, rather than being a part between two founding groups, is, in fact, a union of 10 equal provinces.

Meanwhile, Chretien, who prides himself on the fact that his Liberal

At the same time, if Canadians choose not to contemplate their shared and glorious vision of the future, they can always delude their sharply different views as present issues. One of the enduring legacies of recent years has created on the scene that politicians are aware of an obstacle from us: to bring consensus to the country. But when it comes to things constitutional,

it party historically has sought the centre ground of most political issues, tried to do first again in the late-1980s but unsuccessfully (initiative—and landed himself in the eye of a political hurricane—in breaking Quebec's "distinct society" and granting it (along with Ontario, the West and the Atlantic region) a veto over future constitutional changes, he pulled together on both sides of the Quebec-River of Canada divide. Giving in to the clamor from the West, the government declared British Columbia a fifth region for veto purposes (all voters in British Columbia, who were divided over the issue of whether to grant British Columbia a veto, submitted their seriously undifferentiated level of opinion surrounding the issue).

As the poll confirms, most eastern Quebecers and other Canadians most veto powers and the distinct society concept. While 66 per cent of Quebecers think their province should have a constitutional veto, only 28 per cent of other Canadians agree. Similarly, 75 per cent of Quebecers think their province should be recognized in the Constitution as a distinct society, a view shared by only

43 per cent of other Canadians. But Chretien's intuitive felt short of many Quebecers' aspirations is that he did not propose to eliminate the changes in the Constitution.

Overall, then, fractions Canada seems in need of a roaring, north-facing party. But even the largest of Canadian parties can end up pinned in a corner by the will of the unity rally in Montreal three days before the referendum. Even so, the agreement as such basic notions as how many people attended or whether it was a success. Pollsters provided sharply conflicting crowd estimates, most English language media reported it around 350,000, and the



French-language media estimated it at as small as 35,000.

One newspaper—the open-market tabloid *Le Journal de Montreal*—dismissed the event as an Anglophone "riotous." But did it achieve its aim of bolstering the separatist vote? The poll found 66 per cent of respondents from outside Quebec believe that it helped persuade some Quebecers to vote No to maintain that of Quebecers, as well, believe that was the case—only 13 per cent think the event actually drove more undecided voters to the Yes side.

Against that tempestuous backdrop, the defining essence of Canada may be a sometimes shared sense of wonder and delight that it survives at all. That was the case as recently as July, when a Mexican poll found a surprisingly large consensus among Canadians on subjects ranging from their willingness to serve in elected office to their pride in their country. Pollster Allan Gregg and those results showed Canadians to be at a crossroads, questioning the past without breaking with it completely, ready to try almost anything in the future.

Six months later, the year-end poll asked Canadians to look into their faces—and they found it wanting. Drained by a referendum that has, in the aftermath, evoked sharply different emotions from Quebecers and other Canadians, and battered by budget and service cuts at all levels of government, poll respondents foresee a future in

LEADER OF THE PACK

British Columbians are most likely to say:

- Quebec's place in Canada is settled and no further actions are required: **29% (All provinces except Quebec: 29%)**
- Canada should make no concessions in Quebec, and it is a majority of Quebecers vote Yes to a future referendum, so be it: **35% (All provinces except Quebec: 29%)**
- If a majority of Quebecers wish to secede, "just let them go": **67% (All provinces except Quebec: 61%)**
- Do not give Quebec a veto over constitutional changes: **69% (All provinces except Quebec: 77%)**
- Do not constitutionally recognize Quebec as a distinct society: **51% (All provinces except Quebec: 58%)**
- Canada is not composed of 10 founding provinces but rather of 10 equal provinces: **66% (All provinces except Quebec: 76%)**

BREAK TIME

61% of Canadians, including 58% of Quebecers, think the politicians should leave the constitutional question alone for a while



THE ROAD AHEAD

Support across Canada for:

- Giving Quebec new powers that would also be available to the other provinces: **71%**
- Enshrining the notion of Quebec as a distinct society in the Constitution: **91%** (Ottawa/Quebec: **43%**)
- Granting Quebec a vote over any future constitutional changes: **31%**
- Giving Quebec special status and powers that would not be available to the other provinces: **22%**

tion—and are more likely to vote No if they feel that the sovereignty side is actually likely to win. Now, for the first time, says Grigg, "people like us that are actually more likely to vote Yes in that event."

One reason for this. Yes side's resurgence, paradoxically, is the danger that Quebecers share with other Canadians when they look at the future of social programs. In the 1989 referendum, sovereignty side's victory scuttled the federal idea of running a four-coin system in which they wanted Quebecers that such benefits as old age pensions and unemployment insurance would be lost if they left Canada. This time, the equation was reversed: sovereignty supporters argue that the only way to maintain these services is to lose a so-called backstop. Canada and form a smaller nation based on social democratic ideals.

At least part of that argument is resonating. Quebecers, who in past polls have been the most vocal opponents as a source of issues, are now the most gleeful about the ability of future governments to maintain existing levels of open access health care, old age pensions and other social programs. In fact, Quebec's Premier Marois started a meeting of federal and provincial finance ministers in mid-December by declaring that Ottawa, once leading Quebec's social programs, instead of transferring money to the province for those programs, Marois said, Ottawa should lower federal income tax rates in the province so that Quebec could increase income tax in order to pay for them.

And his own program, Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin rejected the proposal. But Marois and his supporters, who seem certain to succeed here, have reportedly promised that a sovereign Quebec would have a more "humane" approach to spending pay cuts than Alberta and Ontario, where social and health care services have been hit hard.

For Charbonneau, meanwhile, the poll's findings are a mixed blessing. On the positive side, despite widespread criticism of his referendum strategy within Quebec and some Ottawa circles, Charbonneau is in a whole lot more secure as a result. More than one in three gave him some of the credit for the No vote's victory, while just one in four blames him for the new loss. As in the case in so many areas covered in the poll, the gap on the issue of Marois' strategy is widest among voters in Quebec and British Columbia. There six per cent of Quebecers say Charbonneau bears the responsibility for the surprising strength of the Yes vote, and only 16 per cent think he deserves credit for the No victory. But among B.C. respondents, those figures are reversed: 43 per cent think he deserves credit for the win, and only 14 per cent disapprove of his performance.

And with Charbonneau now saying that he plans to meet constitutional

at discussions in the immediate future, he can take solace in the fact that most Canadians like the idea of giving the issue a rest. But they are unpleasant reality is that they are simply agreeing not to disagree for a while longer. When the inevitable next round of negotiated constitutional talks comes along—and the first ministers are constitutionally obliged to meet to discuss the existing formula in early 1997—the country seems certain to find that it is as divided as ever about what comprises Canada, and how much it should be changed, and how quickly.

The closeness of the referendum result may have frightened Canadians in the short term, but it appears to have done little to budgie their overall view of Quebec's place within or outside Confederation. Although 71 per cent of Canadians agree that it is important "to make changes to our Constitution to show Quebecers that federalism can work," that consensus swiftly falls apart when it comes to deciding what those changes should be. Along with widespread opposition to giving Quebec a constitutional vote or constitutional recognition as a distinct society, 60 per cent of Canadians outside Quebec think they "need changes" or "no changes" should be made to the Constitution. But 45 per cent of Quebec respondents said they want "significant" change, while only 23 per cent want little or no change. And other Canadians remain passionately opposed to the notion of giving Quebec special status and powers: only 16 per cent support the idea, and residents of British Co-

WHAT NEXT?

Q: If there are to be changes to the Constitution, how should they be done?

	Canada	N.C.	Provinc.	Int.	Que.	Atlantic
By the prime minister and premiers	30%	21	32	27	37	27
By a constituent assembly of elected officials and people representing different groups	24%	22	26	29	25	29
By community groups that submit ideas to the government for approval	23%	19	22	22	19	29
By national referendum	18%	15	18	20	14	22

more than a decade, his party has grown from a small, Western-based grassroots movement to an established political party that is increasingly tied to the institutions of English-speaking Canada's political thought. Manning is one of the most conservative proponents of portmanteau Canada in 20 years of protest, and he has long argued that any political reform should be based on all of Canada other than only Quebec. Also among the present federal parties, Reform has only recently proposed as how to change the way Canada is governed, including a 30-point plan that concentrates on non-constitutional changes that could be made without the unanimous approval of the provinces. It would give the provinces exclusive responsibility over a wide variety of issues now shared with or controlled by the federal government, ranging from culture and tourism to management of natural resources.

Reform's message on the need for smaller, more decentralized government also addresses the concerns of most Canadians. And Manning's insistence that the federal government has not yet gone far enough in its deficit reduction efforts was another broad support from Canadians in all regions. Sixty-six per cent of Canadians say the Liberals have not yet gone far enough, ranging from a high of 77 per cent in booming British Columbia to a low of 56 per cent in the struggling Atlantic region.

That is good news for budget-cutting governments at the provincial level. Despite the official media attention devoted to the spending cuts made by Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and Ontario Premier Mike Harris, 69 per cent of respondents say they do not think any provincial government has yet gone far in its efforts. Even in Quebec, where Charbonneau and Marois cite Alberta and Ontario as examples of the trouble with Canada, 75 per cent of respondents say that no government has gone too far. But even if that attitude is to become permanent as expected in January, he will have to take long strides to get Quebec's financial house in order.

Ultimately, the poll provides little comfort for the federal government. The negative influence of the deficit has been exaggerated. Only nine per cent of Canadians agree. The real debate is not whether to reduce the deficit, but how quickly. While 30 per cent of respondents say a should be done by the end of the decade "even if it hurts," almost twice as many fear the notion of "going slow."

As if when respondents in Quebec and Ontario in no great hurry to confirm the decision that trust them most, the state of the economy and national unity. It has been a difficult year for Canadians, one dominated by concerns about survival—financial and political. Viewed from the present, the Canada of tomorrow will be a lesser, newer country whose citizens will be much more preoccupied with their own lives than that of their nation. But in the meantime, they collectively agree that they would rather not make to-day the tough decisions that they can put off until tomorrow. □

GETTING TO YES

59% of Quebecers who say how they would cast their ballot. If another referendum on the same question were held tomorrow, say they would vote Yes

64% of Quebecers believe a majority would vote Yes in another referendum within five years (30% above that view in the rest of the country)

43% of Quebecers who voted No in the referendum expect their vote to lose in another referendum held within five years



lans are almost unanimous (94 per cent) in their opposition.

The B.C. responses, in fact, suggest a new phenomenon in the otherwise remarkably predictable cycle of federal provincial and interprovincial government bickering. For years at first ministers' conferences, Alberta has alternately positioned itself as Quebec's largest ally when it came to the issue of federal transfers and its biggest foe as issues relating to special powers for Quebec. Now, the poll suggests that British Columbia wants to disassociate itself from Quebec's B.C. position. It was the most strongly opposed to such measures as a constitutional veto and distinct society status for Quebec, and to any form of negotiation in the aftermath of a Yes referendum vote. Similarly, B.C. residents strongly support the definition of Canada as a union of 10 equal provinces rather than the historical view of Canada as a pact between French and English-speaking peoples.

These responses, along with many others expressed in the poll, should bring no joy to Charbonneau—but plenty to Manning. In little

which the federal government plays a much smaller role in the everyday life of the country—than Canada survives at all. Similarly, may see little or no hope for the future of the social programs that have become cornerstones of the country's way of life in a caring, generous society. "Canada," says Grigg, "always believed that our distinctive identity is in part formed by our social programs, and now consider that these are endangered."

These fears seem well grounded in recent events. Eleven million Canadians living in Ontario learned in November that, because of the provincial government's plans to trim \$3.2 billion in spending over the next three years, they will not pay more for everything from pre-school education to university education. Across Canada, the everyday effects of cutting efforts range from reduced health care services and hospital closures to parent volunteers through school buses and performing other work previously done by staff. Every province but one has gone through the wrenching exercise of balancing its budget or seeking itself on a course to do so. As for Quebec, outgoing Premier Jacques Parizeau has warned that its fate in coming to the next budget—and be blamed the referendum result for that necessity.

The chasm that separates attitudes in Quebec and the rest of Canada seems wider than ever. The major findings of the No side's Oct. 30 referendum victory—64 per cent to 40 per cent—evoked drastically different responses within and outside the province. "While English-Canadians were not as far from the non-decision experience of their country," says Grigg, "Quebecers were something what they see as a narrowly minded choice." And just as polling in the immediate aftermath of an election generally shows more support for the winning party than it did at the polls, the clearest showing of the Yes side is benefiting from a "false effect" in Quebec. The Marois poll conducted two weeks after the referendum, found that fully 57 per cent of those who said they had one ballot claimed to have voted Yes. And a solid majority of 66 per cent of Quebec respondents expect Quebecers to vote Yes in any referendum held within five years.

ASSESSING CHRETIEN

34% give Prime Minister Jean Chrétien at least some of the credit for the No side winning the Oct. 30 referendum in Quebec

25% More than for any other federal politician voting Yes

that the blood requires government endorsement—Canadians for the most part use the deficit problem as a pander. Only a third of poll respondents expect the deficit actually to be lower by the end of the century. And, despite the panic that Canadians are facing now, almost half believe it will be higher.

In 1980, after 17 years as a professional headhunter, Bill Strong, 41, of St. John's left his job as executive director of the Newfoundland Long Association as a result of restructuring. With the provincial economy slumping badly to drive ahead, Strong followed another calling—and enrolled in theological studies to become an Anglican priest. A father of two daughters aged 11 and 14, Strong says the decision has meant sacrifice. "I've never been having a new car for a 1980 model," he admits. "There were no parties when we didn't have a party at all." Also missing is any feeling of certainty that, eventually, the future will get better. "We are given up as a sense of security," says Strong whose wife, Barbara, works as a clerk at Memorial University. "Not even she thinks the country is doing as well as it used to and his family are happy with his decision. We aren't happy with our financial situation, but I have made losing my job into something positive," says Strong.

TWO ROUTES TO PROSPERITY

Most likely to think government should cut spending and get money back into the hands of taxpayers:

Ontarians 82%
(National 60%)

Most likely to say government should continue to make significant expenditures in education, training and health care:

Newfoundlanders 44%
(National 29%)

(page 23). The past year has shown no deterioration in the numbers reporting that their personal financial situation had, in some forms, improved over the past decade—34 per cent in five years' poll compared with 30 per cent in 1994. On the other hand, the numbers who say their lot has actually worsened have climbed—to 38 per cent from 31 per cent last year.

More troubling may be the perception that, in economic terms, Canada is becoming increasingly polarized. Asked whether the gap between the rich and the poor is wider now than it was at the end of the century, 60 per cent of respondents say Yes. This sense of increasing polarization is also evident in responses to other poll questions. For one thing, only 19 per cent of Canadians with an annual household income of less than \$20,000 think that deficit reduction should continue even if it causes hardship. But among Canadians earning more than \$60,000—the people least likely to weather as eras of social safety net—more than two-thirds (74 per cent) would not mind if full speed ahead whatever the consequences. And low-income Canadians are more likely to say their personal financial situation has worsened over the past 10 years—fully 47 per cent, compared with 20 per cent of those in the \$60,000-plus range.

That may help explain what appears to be a growing public interest among Canadians, mostly illustratively, in the case of Dr. David Lewis. In late November, the itinerant Alberta physician, increasingly popular during his long terms in office, underwent triple-bypass surgery at Calgary's Foothills Hospital. Some Albertans speculated openly that Loughheed must have had preferential treatment within Alberta's beleaguered health-care system. One Edmonton radio disc

THE ECO FIGHT ON HOLD

One strong indicator of Canadians' shifting priorities in their attitude towards environmental issues. As recently as the 1989 annual Maclean's poll, Canadians ranked the environment as the country's top problem, cited by 38 per cent of respondents—a level that climbed that year only by the 15 per cent who were most troubled by the impending arrival of the GATT. Now, however, fewer than one per cent of respondents cite the environment as their number 1 concern. Does that mean that Canadians, as a whole, think the problem has been taken care of? Well, no. In fact, while 40 per cent anticipate that, by the year 2000, the quality of the environment will have improved, almost as many—38 per cent—think it will be worse. After a year of battles on the political and economic fronts, Canadians' needs are definitely not focused on the color green.

Q: When the new century begins, the quality of the environment will be:



today quipped that the only way to receive medical treatment in Alberta is to have your name on a hospital—Loughheed's name, at best, at Calgary's Stollery. Such reactions provoked one letter writer to the Calgary Herald to vent his frustration: "I would be happy to step back into place in line to be treated at Loughheed's treatment," he wrote. "How many of us are equal to Loughheed in terms of applying our talents to public service? Let's think about it."

Most Canadians, though, appear to agree on one thing: life is going to get tougher. Following Frederick Frankel's dictum that "welfare can be said to be certain except death and taxes," about 70 per cent of respondents, almost all income brackets, expect governments to be taking more of their income by the end of the decade. And 68 per cent believe they will have less time for leisure and recreation. That brings to mind another Edmonton lion, Franklin, who tirelessly preached the virtues of thrift, self-sufficiency, personal ambition and putting one's nose in the grindstone. "Work as if you were to live 100 years and as if you were to die tomorrow," he wrote in 1931. The day is a time of government cutbacks, shrinking personal expectations and an uncertain future, many Canadians clearly feel that they have no other choice.

With JOAN MORSE in Calgary and JENNIFER PRITCHETT in Halifax

On a higher plane

Many Canadians are turning inward, to their spiritual selves, to find the strength to deal with difficult times

It rains first appeared in Colin Campbell church in Stanley morning service at St. Paul's Anglican Church in Hamilton. "I saw a soaring, deep royal blue light that lasted for about a minute," recalls the former university physics instructor. "I also felt a deep sense of peace and well-being." Campbell, 53, was surprised—and embarrassed—by that accident 35 years ago. "I kept it pretty quiet," he says. "I thought people might send me a postcard."

A church with his wife and five children, he had a scientist's skepticism of mystical experiences. "I thought there was no room for God in the physical world," says Campbell. But the blue light reappeared, along with other extraordinary signs that would transform his life. "The next night, I would feel heat," he recalls, "and one time I spoke in tongues." A few years later, he joined a Christian organization, the Order of St. Luke, after discovering that some of its members had also seen the blue light. Now president of the order, Campbell devotes much of his time to prayer and teaching. "There is more to life than what can be explained by physics," he says.

For Canadians have been so moved by Campbell, but many are heading down the increasingly well-trodden road to spirituality. The *Maclean's/CBC News* poll reveals that a vast majority—42 per cent—of Canadians consider themselves to be "spiritual or very spiritual." Perhaps even more astounding is that a seemingly smaller age in that virtually half of those polled reported that their lives had become more spiritual in the past few years. This laudable shift, some observers believe, is a natural reaction to an era of gloom and grief. "There seems to be a cultural education after the Me decade of the '70s and the Mito decade of the '80s," says John Stockhouse, an associate professor of religion at the University of Waterloo. Spirituality, he adds, holds much allure for a society that's undergone enormous upheavals, political uncertainty and family breakdown. "Almost everywhere you look there is a sense that things are really wrong—that the price we've paid for material prosperity is too high." Numerous prophets and signs have heralded this new spirituality: in the popular culture, as recent bestsellers from Stanley MacLean's exploration of the spiritual side of the phenomenal sales of *The Celestine Prophecy* and a book of theological insights by the Pope, all accompanied by a surge for angels and crystals. "From around the water cooler to the internet, spirituality is in vogue," says Stockhouse. "People are looking for the transcendent."

The search is taking Canadians in many different directions. Some like Campbell, are experiencing an awakening while established religions. While attendance at most mainstream churches

has declined drastically in recent decades, there has been tremendous growth in certain evangelical Protestant churches and charismatic Catholicism—religions that stress an enthusiasm along with morality but spirituality is no longer strictly associated with organized religion.

"It can be anything from a life-changing experience to a leap in the air when you see a comet," notes Stockhouse. "It could be a momentary glimpse of the *K&J* stuff or an exploration of native Canadian religions."

He and other experts also see a strong trend towards transcending spirituality. Many people, like Victorian bookkeeper Leonard Cragg, turn and reach into various traditions and religions. "I am an eclectic," says Cragg, 23. "I look to the past for inspiration but also towards the New Age movement." She perceives the ceremonial magic of Wicca, reads tarot cards and practices a blend of Buddhism and Taoism. Says Cragg: "I believe in all aspects of mankind and wonderful things that the divine are made of."

Women, however, are much more likely than men to seek out the sacred. Almost one in five poll respondents say they are "not spiritual at all." Within that group, men outnumber women almost 2 to 1. "Spirituality is not a female prerogative," says Farnham Elsworth, an assistant professor of religious studies at Fredrickton's St. Thomas University. "But many qualities associated with it—harmony, intimacy and interrelationships—have been considered feminine in North American culture."

Another quality often associated with spirituality is a universalism. But the poll reveals something that many of the people drawn to spirituality are, at the same time, yearning for prosperity. More than a third of those choosing an increase in spirituality also say that they are more concerned about money and material possessions than they were in the past few years. That may not be as hypocritical as it first appears, because people do tend to look to the spiritual realm in hard times. "Many religions would say it is perfectly legitimate to be concerned about a job and money," notes Stockhouse. "You don't go off into the bush and become a monk—now, stay at home and provide for your family as part of God's will." He and others maintain, however, that many people are following a consumerist, self-indulgent brand of spirituality. Campbell would agree. "It's not that 'big a trick to experience God,'" he says. "All God has to do is put you with a blue light. The real test is, are you willing to serve God?"

SHARON DOYLE DREIER



MOVED BY THE SPIRIT

Despite British Columbia's reputation as a hotbed of New Age mysticism, spirituality seems to be flourishing least in that province, and most in the Atlantic region.

Consider myself spiritual:



Consider myself not spiritual at all:



"Not spiritual at all" by gender:

Men — 23%

Women — 10%

Stems more spiritual in the last few years:



Changing expectations of work

Is Canada's education system preparing young people for a future in which there will be even fewer traditional jobs?

BY SCOTT STEELE

Derrick Curley says that 1985 was his worst year ever. The 35-year-old carpenter from Hope, B.C., 100 km west of Vancouver, managed to find work for only eight weeks in the past 12 months—not enough to qualify for unemployment insurance. His wife, Jackie, meanwhile, has a clerical job at The Rowing Team in St. John's, more than an hour's commute away. That has left the couple supporting their two children, Heather, 14, and Kenna, 10, on little more than one income. Curley says he desperately wants to return to school to train for a new job.

"These days, finding a carpenter isn't enough," he says. "You have to be educated in an area where there's jobs." But he is angry that, so far, the federal government has failed to help, the only training programs currently available being for fishermen and IT specialists. "It proves we're still doing it the old-fashioned way," he argues. "But what's at the root of it is who can't find jobs and really need to work."

Such frustration over education, jobs and the future quality of life runs throughout the 1995 Maclean's/CBC News year-end poll. Amid alarming levels of general pessimism, Canadians are especially concerned about their employment prospects. Related worries—hours of work and income taxes, for instance, and the value of education—also figure highly on their worry lists. Fully 86 per cent of respondents believe that, by the end of the decade, it will be even harder for young Canadians to find meaningful work. When it comes to education, the outlook is almost equally bleak. Fully 71 per cent of respondents say that the value of a high-school diploma will diminish in the years ahead, while a quarter anticipate a decline in the quality of post-secondary education. Thirty-five per cent anticipate that the average working person will be putting in even longer hours.

ALL WORK AND NO PLAY

Many Canadians view work outside the home as one of their little chances at fun in life becoming snarler in the next five years

43% of them expect to have even less time for leisure and recreation

32% of them believe hours at work will be longer

who are riding out tough times in school—that the unemployment rate remained constant at 14.4 per cent.

As the statistics underlie, the very nature of work is undergoing a radical transformation—and the education system is scrambling to keep pace. "A pattern has been unfolding for several years in the economy that is driving what is happening," says David Lawson, a career counsellor at McMaster University in Hamilton and a partner in a private employment consulting firm. "Canada made a choice to integrate into the global marketplace and compete with companies around the world, and they simply had to withdraw from certain kinds of activities. That, in turn, has determined where opportunities begin to rise and where they begin to shrink."

Technological innovation and automation have begun to wipe out thousands of jobs, especially in the labour-intensive manufacturing and resource sectors, at the same time as they are creating new opportunities for highly educated and skilled workers. Routine work, however, is also being lost through reorganization, as companies race to become more competitive in the global marketplace.

Their opportunities to coexist with the new workplace have been uneven. And, in the new workplace, as employers "recon-

YOUTHFUL REALITY CHECK

86% of 18- to 24-year-old Canadians, actually an optimistic group, say that young people will find it even harder to find meaningful work in five years than now



new" to cut costs and remain competitive, they have begun to "out-source" many previously in-house functions to contractors and freelancers. Most business forecasts predict that, in the years to come, increasing numbers of people will be working out of their own homes, often on a contract or "as needed" basis, essentially operating as self-employed service providers.

That current trend is almost certain to continue. "It's a probable to even more people going into business for themselves," says Toronto-based human resources consultant Colin Campbell, who predicts that, by the end of the decade, fewer than half of all jobs will be permanent, full-time positions. "If you have time to find your job, it's not a job," he says. "It's a job that you have to turn yourself into a company and have those people as clients." Adds Lawson: "What has changed is that people in almost all areas of employment are feeling themselves in the position of having to be entrepreneurs right now. You need to keep reinventing yourself, recoding yourself. Job search used to be a one-time activity for people. For a lot of people right now, it is a day-to-day."

For many, the transformation is a growing crisis. "Costs are harder because there is just not that same of security that you would feel if you had a permanent job," says Ruth Bernstein, a student employment adviser at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ont. Although Statistics Canada reports that the average school hours in the past decade—in 1985, the average worker put in 37.5 hours a week compared with 37.1 hours in 1994—many employees who have survived companies downsizing say that they are now expected to work harder, with fewer resources. That, say observers, may explain why, despite the promises of the technological age, nearly one-third of job respondents feel that working hours will likely increase—and why 41 per cent expect, even less time for leisure and recreation in the future.

In the new economy, career counsellors say, those with the broadest skills base are the most successful at the labour to succeed. Not surprisingly, Campbell, author of *When the Work Goes Home: Canada Joins the Global Economy*, predicts that "increasingly, levels of education, experience and training will dictate income levels, as well as type and length of employment."

The statistics already bear that out. While the average unemployment rate in 1994, for example, was 14.4 per cent, it stood at 16.4 per cent for those who had completed only some high school, 20 per cent for high-school graduates, and 5.4 per cent for those with university degrees. Unskilled youths are far and away the new economy's biggest losers. While unemployment for 15-to-24-year-olds stood at 16.5 per cent last year, the highest for any age group, among young people with only an elementary school education it was a staggering 28.1 per cent. The rate among those with only some secondary school was marginally better at 23.9 per cent, for high school graduates, 15.8 per cent, for holders of a postsecondary certificate or diploma, 12.7 per cent, and for young university graduates, 9.6 per cent—still high but less than the national average of all ages.

In the five years since 1990, the number of positions held by people with postsecondary diplomas or degrees rose by 1.5 million,



compared with a decline of 800,000 jobs for those with less education. "A lot of jobs used to be trade and manual in nature," says Campbell. "That sector, that people with lower skills could find at relatively figure change out. But we are now moving into a sort of abstract world. A lot of companies just won't hire high school graduates any more. So more now literally require fork lift operators to be able to read balance sheets and financial statements."

These days, as hierarchical corporate structures are replaced by agile, project-based "teams," employers are placing greater emphasis on self-motivated skills. And human resources professionals now emphasize the importance of " lifelong learning," the need to be constantly adding skills in order to keep pace and avoid becoming redundant. "You may get a diploma or degree, but you need something more to give you a competitive advantage," says Campbell. "Otherwise, you're shooting up at an employer's door along with countless others who also have those qualifications. A bachelor's degree is now a bit like Grade 12 used to be; you really need to continue it with broad-based business skills, computer skills and excellent communication skills."

Faced with the new realities—and unprecedented levels of uncertainty—fully half of job respondents say that they are more pessimistic about the future than they were a decade ago. And while 25-to-34-year-olds are generally the most hopeful—40 per cent say they are optimistic about the future, compared with only 27 per cent of those between the ages of 45 and 54—that positive outlook evaporates in a moment of crisis when considering their personal expectations. "While young people may be modestly more optimistic about the future, we have never seen them so pessimistic about issues that affect them, the worth of a high-school diploma, their prospects of employment," says Alan Greig, chairman of the Strategic Council, which conducted the poll. Indeed, of the poll's youngest respondents, 86 per cent expect it to get harder to come across for Canadian youths to find meaningful work. And 73 per cent of the study's youngest respondents expect that education is bound to decrease, compared with only 60 per cent of those aged 45 and over.

Many critics say that what is needed are better links among education, training and employment. Auditor General Dennis Desautels repeatedly noted that, while the federal human resources department spent \$2 billion in training in 1994, it fell far short of what was needed. "The government doesn't have answers to some fundamental questions on training support," said Desautels.

Meanwhile, the role of the education system is also being questioned. "More and more people want to know that there is going to be a payoff at the end of their studies—in other words, 'a job,'" says Lemkau. "A lack of connection between education and the labour market is something that I don't think we can sidestep any more." On that point Derrick Curley, who was busy carving wooden furniture in the hopes of raising money to buy Christmas presents for his family, would surely agree.

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Finding comfort in the home

In tough times, Canadians profess to have better love lives—but less sex

Will you still need me
Will you still feed me
When I'm 64?
—John Lennon/Paul McCartney

The Beatles' cherry lull 1967 ditty goes to the heart of what many people wonder in earnest—will love last? And in a year saturated with so much gloom and doom, it is encouraging to discover that Canadians are feeling generally upbeat about that most private of private endeavors, their love lives. According to the Maclean's/CBC News poll, 58 per cent have "grown more in love" over the past year. Allan Gregg, chairman of Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel Inc., which conducted the poll, says he is not surprised by the apparent contradiction with the overall pessimism that the poll found on other topics. "It's kind of a defense mechanism," he says. "People are saying, 'Things aren't great out there, but I can still be a good person.'"

In fact, some Canadians' defense mechanisms are working overtime. Three-quarters of those surveyed say they love a partner or spouse.

TILL DEATH US DO PART

In the last year, how have you felt about your partner or spouse?

Grown more in love... 58%
No change... 26%
Grown more distant... 16%

The "grown more in love" respondents, by age:



when it comes to Canadians' sex lives. As in many previous Maclean's polls, Newfoundlanders topped the charts, with 18 per cent calling themselves very sexually active, compared with a national total of 10 per cent. On a national basis, sexual activity peaked among those aged 35 to 44, with 71 per cent.

But that group claiming to have active sex lives, by age 55 to 64, the percentage had dropped to 43 per cent; at 65 and over, it was down to 37 per cent.

But for most people, sex alone is not the key to general happiness. According to marital and family therapist Rose Marie Jaco, who teaches sexual work at the University of Western Ontario in London, surveys consistently show a good marriage or relationship to be the most important factor determining quality of life. "That's ahead of children, a good job, good health," says Jaco. "Human beings were designed to go in pairs."

Still, it appears to be easier to have a strong relationship at some stages of the life cycle than others. The poll found, for instance, that 78 per cent of those aged 18 to 24 said that they had grown more in love, the highest percentage of all the age groups.

That, Jaco notes, corresponds with the time when young adults in North American society traditionally look for a partner and set up housekeeping. Satisfaction with marriage tends to decline at two stages: when a couple's children are young and demanding, and when they are rebellious teenagers. "When there is a lot of inner turmoil in the family, it's easy to blame the partner," says Jaco.

The poll reflects those stages: the numbers professing to be more in love decline with age. Nevertheless, even among those aged 65 and over, 36 per cent still claim to be fondler of their partners than they were a year ago. Says Jaco: "If a couple have been able to weather all the storms, and finally have some time to do some pleasant activities together, they can enter into a very happy time in their lives." For them, the response to the Beatles' question is a definite Yes.

BARBARA WICKENS

SEXUAL SLIPPAGE

How would you describe your sex life?



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Taking the pulse

For the 13th annual sounding of the nation's mood, Maclean's worked with the same pollster as in all previous editions, Allan Gregg, now chairman of the new Toronto-based firm The Strategic Counsel Inc. And, for the first time, the magazine returned into a partnership this year with the CBC's The National, which is presenting programs based on these results on the evenings of Dec. 13, 14 and 20.

The results themselves are based on telephone interviews that The Strategic Counsel conducted from Nov. 9 through Nov. 15 with 1,630 Canadians aged 18 or older, selected randomly across all 10 provinces. (There was no sampling in the Yukon or Northwest Territories because of the individual polling difficulty of obtaining statistically significant results for such sparsely populated areas.) To reduce the margin of error at the provincial level, the sample size for the less-populated provinces was disproportionately increased to a minimum of 100.

National results, weighted to correct for the selective over-sampling, are consolidated according to within 20 percentage points, 20 years out of 20. Accuracy margins are wider for results from individual provinces and territories. Highlighted figures throughout the report focus on statistically significant results. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off and, in most cases, "don't know" and "no answer" results are eliminated. For those reasons, the total percentages frequently do not add up to 100.

GENERAL ATTITUDES

1. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today?

Unemployment/inequality	34
Government's powerlessness	24
Unemployment/inequality	23
National unity/Vic. Confederation	23
Terrorism	20
Crime/terrorism	19
Other	18

2. Are you more or less optimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?

More optimistic	34
A little more optimistic	24
No change	20
A little less optimistic	15
More pessimistic	7

3. In the past 10 years, would you say your personal financial situation has...?

Greatly worsened	10
Slightly worsened	23
No change	24
Slightly better	20
Greatly better	23

CANADA IN THE YEAR 2000

Looking ahead about the next five years, and the start of a new millennium, do you think...

4. ... Canada as we know it today will still exist?	69
Yes	69
No	29

5. ... the government deficit will be...?

Significantly higher	16
----------------------	----

Somewhat higher	36
The same	36
Somewhat lower	21
Significantly lower	10
Eliminated altogether	3

6. ... we will be attaining a higher or lower number of people to run for elected office?

Significantly higher	8
Somewhat higher	21
The same	43
Somewhat lower	20
Significantly lower	8

7. ... young Canadians will find it harder or easier to find meaningful work than they do now?

Significantly harder	40
Somewhat harder	29
The same	9
Somewhat easier	15
Significantly easier	7

8. ... the crime rate in your community will be...? ... than it is now?

Significantly higher	41
Slightly higher	31
The same	32
Slightly lower	8
Significantly lower	1

9. ... Canada's pension plan will have...?

Significantly better	1
Slightly better	1
The same	1
Slightly worse	1
Significantly worse	1

And, with looking ahead over the next five years and the start of a new millennium, do you think...

Significantly worse	1
Somewhat worse	1
The same	1
Somewhat better	1
Significantly better	1

10. ... Canada's reputation in the international community will be...?

2	30	34	25	4
---	----	----	----	---

11. ... the quality of the environment will be...?

5	30	30	34	7
---	----	----	----	---

12. ... the quality of life for senior citizens will be...?

12	41	37	15	3
----	----	----	----	---

13. ... levels of personal freedom will be...?

Somewhat better	30
Slightly better	30
The same	30
Slightly worse	10
Significantly worse	1

14. ... the gap between the haves and the have-nots within Canada will be...?

Somewhat wider	30
Slightly wider	30
The same	30
Slightly narrower	10
Significantly narrower	1

15. ... our rights or freedoms as Canadians will be in serious jeopardy because of the prospect of joining the United States?

Yes	29
No	69

16. ... the gap between the haves and the have-nots within Canada will be...?

Somewhat wider	30
Slightly wider	30
The same	30
Slightly narrower	10
Significantly narrower	1

17. ... our rights or freedoms as Canadians will be in serious jeopardy because of the prospect of joining the United States?

Yes	29
No	69

18. ... the gap between the haves and the have-nots within Canada will be...?

Somewhat wider	30
Slightly wider	30
The same	30
Slightly narrower	10
Significantly narrower	1

19. ... our rights or freedoms as Canadians will be in serious jeopardy because of the prospect of joining the United States?

Yes	29
No	69

20. ... the gap between the haves and the have-nots within Canada will be...?

Somewhat wider	30
Slightly wider	30
The same	30
Slightly narrower	10
Significantly narrower	1

21. ... the quality of the environment will be...?

2	30	34	25	4
---	----	----	----	---

22. ... the quality of life for senior citizens will be...?

12	41	37	15	3
----	----	----	----	---

23. ... levels of personal freedom will be...?

Somewhat better	30
Slightly better	30
The same	30
Slightly worse	10
Significantly worse	1

24. ... the gap between the haves and the have-nots within Canada will be...?

Somewhat wider	30
Slightly wider	30
The same	30
Slightly narrower	10
Significantly narrower	1

25. Do you think of the year 2000 and the start of a new millennium as just another year, a special year that sets you apart from the rest of the year, or a year that will mark a new beginning for the world?

Just another year	44
A special year	44
A new beginning	12

26. Do you think of the year 2000 and the start of a new millennium as just another year, a special year that sets you apart from the rest of the year, or a year that will mark a new beginning for the world?

Just another year	44
A special year	44
A new beginning	12

27. (Asked in Quebec only) 300 respondents: What should be the PQ government's top goal now?

Turning to attention to non-residential matters	38
Turning to more power for Quebec within Canada	30
Working with steps and means to achieve sovereignty as quickly as possible	19

28. Thinking back to the referendum campaign about you, do you think, on balance, that the federalist relies upon the PQ vote to hold in Montreal and other Canadian cities in the next week?

Yes	19
No	81

29. Do you think of the year 2000 and the start of a new millennium as just another year, a special year that sets you apart from the rest of the year, or a year that will mark a new beginning for the world?

Just another year	44
A special year	44
A new beginning	12

30. Do you think of the year 2000 and the start of a new millennium as just another year, a special year that sets you apart from the rest of the year, or a year that will mark a new beginning for the world?

Just another year	44
A special year	44
A new beginning	12

31. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: How do you rate the Oct. 30 referendum?

Very good	30
Good	30
The same	30
Bad	10
Very bad	1

32. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

33. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

34. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

35. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

36. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

37. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

38. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

39. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

40. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

41. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

42. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

43. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

44. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

45. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

46. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

47. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

48. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

49. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

50. (Asked in Quebec) 300 respondents: If another referendum were held tomorrow on the same question, how would you vote?

Yes	68
No	32

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TAKING IT TO THE STREET

In Ontario and Alberta, labor rallies against spending cuts

The day of protest was only half over when Denise MacPherson, owner of a restaurant at downtown London, Ont., turned to her cash register to calculate the damage. She quickly punched in some numbers and shook her head at the amount of business she had lost. "It has cost me \$1,000," said MacPherson. "I don't have had 200 customers by now." If labor leaders had hoped to reflect that level of frustration on residents of the southwestern Ontario city last week, they certainly succeeded in MacPherson's case. Since taking office in June, Premier Mike Harris has taken an axe to the cash register—and now the unions are fighting back. The London protest, in which 12,000 chanting protesters showed their resolve by marching in a freezing winter wind, was the first of a series of general strikes that may be held across Ontario, culminating in a province-wide shutdown next spring. As they departed, MacPherson said that many business owners when she declared "this is a disaster."

The London protesters were buoyed by the results of recent confrontation with other provincial governments that are also slashing spending. In Alberta in late November, the government dropped plans to cut \$20 million in health-care funding in the midst of a strike by health-care workers in Calgary. And in Manitoba last week, the government was forced to reopen emergency wards in three hospitals when nurses organized a massive picketing protecting the children. In London, picket lines were set up outside the gates of some of the area's largest employers, including General Motors of Canada Ltd., as well as at the Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. in nearby St. Thomas. As well, government services, including the post office, city transit and some schools, were shut down in London. In all, more than 12,000 workers stayed home in the largest protest yet against provincial cutbacks. Later, at an arena on the London



Protesters in London: some 12,000 joined the demonstration against spending cuts

foreground, speaker after speaker vowed to paralyze the province in a general strike. Said Bob White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress: "The winds of protest that blew through London will get stronger."

At the legislature in Toronto, however, the premier was not being swept away. Within days of being elected, Harris had cut popular support on welfare recipients by 25 to 30 per cent—the first concrete results of his campaign pledge to slash government spending. In November, he kept another election vow when he overruled legislation that outlawed the hiring of replacement workers during strikes. And on Nov. 20, as part of a

strategy to ease the province's budget deficit, then estimated at \$9 billion, Harris's finance minister, Steele Dorn, announced \$6.3 billion in spending cuts over three years. They included \$1.3 billion to come from health care and \$800 million from education. "I understand loud crying to protest every advantage they use," said Harris. "But I think you go too far if you engage in an activity that affects people and the core competitiveness of the province."

The debate, in fact, rages over the issue of which side is perceived to have gone too far. As the social Malaise protest-pundt events in this issue, Canadians are beginning to

conclude that their governments are stepping beyond the bounds in their cut to social services. The labour workers were not panned by about 3,500 other health-care employees, and when the movement seemed to be building towards a general strike, Harris's government cancelled \$25 million in health-care cuts, although the prime minister said that the cancellation was not tied to the strike. According to David Harris, a political scientist at the University of Guelph, Harris's campaign was discouraged. "The hospital workers came in as David and he was Galt's," said Harris. "This was a terrible dose paralytic change."

And last week the province abandoned another element of its health-care spending cuts, when it scaled a fight with Alberta's 4,000 doctors by dropping its plan to cut \$30 million a year from their fees.

Harris's opponents have also been buoyed by a successful legislative rebellion. Led by Liberal MPP Alvin Curling, the opposition forced the government to abandon plans to rush through a massive bill that would have given the government unprecedented clout in its battle against the deficit. Bill 26, the proposed savings and restructuring act, would have altered more than 40 provincial laws. Among other powers, it would have allowed the government to close hospitals and tell doctors where they must practice. It would also have let municipalities implement special taxes and user fees to offset the cuts in provincial funding. Ontario politicians forced the government to agree to hold three weeks of public hearings on the bill in January. They refused to leave the legislature when told to do so by Speaker Al McLean, forcing it into recess.

Liberal and New Democratic plan to use the hearings to show the pace of Harris's reforms. Liberal health leader Jim Bradley said that the government had hoped to rush Bill 26 through the legislature. But now that it is going to be debated publicly, he said, Ontario residents will learn the full extent and impact of the budget cuts. Last week, the province's doctors also voiced anger that they intend to fight the bill. As part of their strategy, Ontario Medical Association president Dr. Ian Warrick said the group's 25,000 members will be asked to fax Harris the address of a firm that must be filed out of each town a doctor sees a patient. Said Warrick: "We want to give every tax evader the government has."

The Opposition also believes that voters will balk when they realize the full implications of the government's proposal to cut provincial tax rates by 30 per cent, while at the same time trying to balance its budget. In Alberta, Klein did not increase taxes to cut the deficit—but he did not lower them, either. Bradley said that Harris's proposal has already forced the government to make drastic and unnecessary cuts. Added Bradley: "The government is in a race to finance a tax break that will primarily benefit upper income people."

There is another element that could work against Harris: the slowing economy. Brian Harris, a senior analyst with the Dominion Bond Rating Service, said Harris and Klein started cutting earlier and benefited from strong economic growth and a surge in oil and gas revenues. Harris is attempting to cut deeply at a time of slower growth. "Ontario is starting at, or near, the peak of the economic cycle, and also at a time of significant real estate and stock market declines. It is to make their job more difficult," said the growing concern in the streets will only contribute to the problems.

TOM FUNNELL is in London with MARY NARAYAN in Calgary



A messy departure

Parizeau is preparing to step down amid scandal

leptore the *W* is what they're calling it in Quebec. And like most good government scandals, it is a targeted tale, a murky story of deceit and greed, perhaps even criminal fraud. For the principals involved, it has been a disaster. The man at the center of the scandal is Jean Charest, Quebec's former minister of restructuring. Richard Le *W* is already a political activist, incrementally damped from both the cabinet and the Parti Quebecois caucus. His boss, Premier Jacques Parizeau, finds himself facing an unpalatable prospect: a political party that has been so thoroughly impugned, its reputation as an estate political sectate in shreds. And the party government that both are leaving behind is reeling under the weight of charges of incompetence at best, corruption at worst. "We're all badly affected by this mess," concludes Charest. "I don't know where to go."

The *W* Le's editors, the public now knows were smoking that bunch of crooks.

Pariseau no doubt had another kind of legacy in mind when he announced his intention to resign on Oct. 31, the day after the

prison's inflexible vote. After nearly three decades of public service, much of it distinguished, the outgoing premier could have reasonably looked forward to a far more graceful exit when he hands over the reins of power to Lucien Bouchez on Jan. 27 or—was the unlikely event that another coalition emerges—following a leadership vote on Feb. 25. Instead, Benamou will likely leave still in trading mode, as he wades through the wreckage of the country and some of the closest members of his entourage, at least according to Ben-

Médecin are 25 research contracts worth \$2.7 million that were handed out early this year by Le Her's now-dismissed restructuring department for work on 46 studies examining various aspects of Quebec sovereignty with a view to providing the PQ government

Even more damaging was Brown's disclosure that members of Panetta's entourage were aware of the potential dangers as early as last June. According to the author, grassroots senior civil servants complained about Latino's conflict of interest in a meeting on June 1 with Louis Brand, who sat at the time behind secretary of state and Quaker's chairman, and Quaker's vice president, Panetta's wife's father. Panetta's deputy minister, two of those who complained were fired, and that subsequently reviewed.

for the situation in LeRoi's office, nothing was done. "It didn't smell bad," Parnassus replied last week in answer to a reporter's query about the lack of action. "At the time of the meeting with Mr. Bernard, it didn't seem like something that couldn't be fixed."

Nevertheless, in an effort to contain the damage, the premier took a number of steps in response to Britain's report. He suspended

Nevertheless, in an effort to contain the damage, the premier took a number of steps in response to Bunting's report. He suspended

of Gompers and another senior civil servant from the now-defunct reconstruction ministry Le Hu, who had resigned from the cabinet immediately after the referendum vote, was hosted on the 194 caucus after initially refusing an invitation to voluntarily step aside. Picot was ordered to expand his investigation into all 25 contracts awarded by Le Hu's department and report back by Jan 35. The government asked the economic crime unit of the Sûreté du Québec the provincial police force, to begin investigating the possibility of 'lapping contracts'—a practice in which a minister is in serious but false touch over non-conflict-of-interest legislation in the national assembly before he leaves office.

While Liable, Parlane's messengers may be too late to offset the damage to its credibility. Even before *Taffare* Le Mir exploded, the promoter's reputation had been damaged by his ostentatious, little-substantiated blarney and the ethnic vote. For the narrow defeat at his swiftness upon the took another five last week when the Oposifus revealed yet another questionable contract, this time one awarded by the promoter himself. Earlier this year, Parlane paid Michael Long and several associates \$100,000 to "research" the proposed work as a "technical consultant" for three months. Parlane had no intention of doing the planning. After completing his assignment, Marikinas was appointed president of Hydro-Dasher.

The Liberals, who are struggling with doubts about their leader, Daniel Johnson, attempted to exploit the controversy for all it was worth. All week in the national assembly, the Liberals tried to paint the Conservatives as the party of the "information" by attempting to draw out some of Pearson's most interesting remarks to the scandal. A notable target was Finance Minister Pauline O'Brien, who, in her previous role as treasurer of the Liberal Party, was responsible for an advertising campaign that led to the loss of Le Roy's re-election. The Liberals, however, tried, without much success, to drag O'Brien into the mess by unskillfully elaborating on a comment she had made in a colorful, organizational chart purporting to trace the links between Bouchard's Black Book, Pearson's Parti Québécois and the Parti Libéral. "We're not trying to draw any conclusions," remarked Liberal house leader Pierre Parizeau as he presented his chart at what the party termed an "informal" media briefing in the Commons. "It's just that there is a lot of

The auditor general may have a few of the answers when he delivers his final report in January. But the scandal may have little lasting effect for the simple reason that Peristiw is on his way out of power. And for that, there are many in the PQ who are breathing a sigh of relief, hoping that when Peristiw goes, he will take *Loggins Le No* with him. If he does, he will have rendered one last service to his fellow Periquitos.

BARRY CAME as *Myriad*

Teenage wasteland

Two alleged killers provide chilling testimony

Following their brutal murders in suburban Montreal last April, Françoise, a 35-year-old retired Angeleno musician, and his wife Jocelyne, 31, were uniformly praised by friends and former parliamentarians as a warm, caring and generous couple. But at least one 11-year-old Montrealer held a different view. Testifying before Montreal Youth Court Judge Lucie Robitaille on Dec. 7, the boy—one of the teenagers charged with the first-degree mur-

der at the Taogees—and that he and a 15-year-old friend had targeted the "Gangster" house for robbery because they knew that it would be filled with cash and items such as VCRs that they could sell on the street. He added that they had assumed the couple were out of town, but that once they were at home, the Taogees were elderly and so would find it difficult to defend themselves or call the police. Finally, the 16-year-old, who had been the Taogees' newspaper delivery boy the year before, testified that he did not like the couple because they never trusted him, not even at Christmas. "They were," he said, "cheap people."

That chilling bit of testimony was the last of the evidence against the first of the three teenagers—21-year-old John Doe. He had allegedly accepted a bribe to be seated next to the Young Offender Act—sent to jail. After final arguments by the defense and prosecution, the case was sent to a jury. The jury deliberated for 100 days. The other two defendants are still fighting a move to have them tried as adults. What emerged during the month-long trial was a disturbing portrait of young people caught on drugs and alcohol, bludgeoning two men, and then trying to cover up the crime by balling and leaving them to bleed to death.

Suspected young offenders enjoy less legal protection than those available to adults. For that reason, Judge Henderson has several court submissions outstanding, including compensation for the 13-year-old who was injured in the 1997 attack and statements that he gave to police following his arrest. That means, Court

ERLON BERGMAN and LIZ BARTYCKE
in Montreal

Toeing the party lines

Liberals and Tories split on the Pearson airport deal

From the start to the finish of the largely little \$1.3-billion exercise, the two long-standing rivals happily portrayed themselves as the protagonists and the defence. That much Canadians understood: how expected the far Liberal and the Tory members of a politically seasoned Senate committee to bring party loyalty in their assessments of a 1980 deal by the former Tory government to privatize Toronto's lucrative Pearson International Airport to private developers. True to form, the glossy print report released by the senators last week in Ottawa revealed more political backing than impartial judgment of the worthiness, or lack of, the \$750-million deal that the Liberals cancelled two months after it was signed. In very acknowledgement of the excessive partisanship that traded Liberal jobs for Tory trust and argument for counterargument, Tory Senator Philip MacDonell suggested that Canadians had good reason to be disappointed. Conceded MacDonell: "Someone is going to have to hold our feet to the fire to tell the partisan stink off this exercise."

Most participants in the hearing controversy have a longer wish that the Pearson debate and its lesser impositions should start an honest open discussion that led them to serve the contract in the first place, the federal Liberal government is expected this week to unveil a new deal to turn the new Pearson terminals over to a nonprofit local airport authority. For taxpayers and the travelling public, confronted with the contract or at least another seven years before Canada's most congested airport is brought up to world-class standards, a break in the political stalemate that has paralyzed development of Pearson is welcome news. But there is a hefty price yet to pay. Despite proposed Liberal kindness to limit the amount of compensation for lost profits—a bill now stalled in the Tory-dominated Senate—taxpayers are liable for at least \$10 million, and as much as \$450 million, in damages to developers. Said one senior Liberal strategist: "The political lid off from this issue is scuttling so politicians, especially Liberal politicians, want to think about."

The senators' conflicting versions of events did more to confuse the issue than to clarify the murky details that colored an important

matter of public policy. The Senate committee heard 66 witnesses and assessed more than 40,000 pages of documents during an eight-week session of the 32-year, \$750-million contract between Ontario and Pearson Development Corp., a private consortium of developers that planned to renovate and run two of Canada's busiest, and most profitable, airport terminals. But the conclusions drawn from the same information could not have been more dramatically—or predictably—different. The 172-page Tory version of events conceded only that the Pearson transaction fit

business. For those involved in the original bid—including former Tory party president Donald Matthews, the major shareholder in Project Inc., and Liberal supporter Charles Brodeur, who controls Claridge Holdings Inc., a Montreal-based company that, after stepped aside, Hagerman—the deal provided impressive returns. Included in the agreement, and kinked from Pearson revenues, was a \$3.5-million payment to Matthews for unspecified consulting services. Project president Joe Henson, a former senior federal bureaucrat, was offered a "post-agreement package" of \$63,750 a year for life, or \$41,875 a year for his wife if he should die before her. Fred Desautel, former Tory senior adviser and longtime friend of former prime minister Brian Mulroney, was guaranteed more than \$2 million in lobbying fees if he did not succeed in securing the deal.

Perhaps the most revealing lesson of what Tory senators described as "a cautionary tale



Ticket counter at Pearson's Terminal 2—more partisan backing than impartial judgment

was revealed: "a Byzantine complexity, displaying a casual quota of human fallibility and human bias." The Tory senators stated that the deal of character in the deal followed "an utterly routine course of events" that was ethical, diligent and above reproach. Killing the deal, they said, "was a rash to judgment as flawed as any one Canadian taxpayer in the millions of dollars." On the contrary, said the Liberals: Their 172-page minority report dealt politicians, lobbyists and government officials, as well as thoroughly government firms and consulting firms, as good as the deal was muddled with undue influence and unwelcome political interference. Said Liberal Senator Michael Kirby, the committee's deputy chairman: "It was a very bad business deal for Canadians."

Incapable of reaching a consensus verdict on the deal itself, the senators nevertheless uncovered an intriguing array of details about the way the private and public sectors do

for politicians, as how vulnerable the so-called contracts of silver secret thought has become. Tested by one Tory senator as the party's "last hurrah" as the majority party in the chamber, the partisan hearing instead suggested that the Senate may be the last place Canadians can look for balanced criticism of important public policy, by complaining about the lack of power to extract confidential government documents that might have cast a sharper focus on the Pearson deal—the one issue on which Liberals and Tories agreed—the Senate had previously exposed itself to even more potent truth. "What are we to conclude?" asked a clearly enervated MacDonell last week. "That both reports cannot reach other out? That [the exercise] was hogwash?" In the unsettled world of the Pearson affair, it seemed a fair question.

E. KATE FLEISHER in Ottawa

FALLING SILENT

About 50 years on the air, Radio-Canada International still tells us the federal funding story. The 108 employees of RCI—which broadcasts Canadian programming primarily on shortwave radio in eight languages (more than 128 countries)—received notice that the service will close by March 31. RCI has an annual budget of \$95.5 million, half from the CBC and half from the foreign affairs department.

DAY CARE DOLLARS

Federal Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy offered to provide \$630 million to the provinces over the next three to five years to expand child-care services as long as provincial governments are willing to shoulder the rest of the investment.

CRIMINAL CODE CHANGES

Federal Justice Minister Allan Rock introduced amendments to the Criminal Code aimed at deterring juvenile prostitution, stealing and livestock theft and mutilation. Among the proposed measures: ships who exploit prostitutes under the age of 18 would receive a mandatory five-year sentence; a sailor who commits a slaying would be charged with first-degree murder whether or not the killing was premeditated; and general mutilation of adolescent women, as practiced by some immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, would be explicitly outlawed.

A CAPITAL CHOICE

By a 60-40 margin, Eastern Arctic residents voted in a plebiscite to choose the Baffin Island community of Iqaluit as the capital of the new territory of Nunavut, which is to be carved out of the eastern Northwest Territories by 1999.

AIRBUS: THE SAGA CONTINUES

Some bank account documents show that a former Liberal minister ordered the name of "Globe" never contained more than \$500, according to The Financial Post. Meanwhile, The Toronto Star reported that Karlheinz Schreier, who was a lobbyist for European airlines earlier this year, was a member of a Swiss people who made a \$158,000 loan to then-Alberta deputy premier Hugh Harkin in 1970, which was never repaid. These were among developments in the Airbus affair, in which the federal government is investigating Schreier, former prime minister Brian Mulroney and his prime minister's brother-in-law, former New Brunswick premier Frank McKenna in connection with alleged bribes associated with Air Canada's purchase of Airbus planes between 1988 and 1991. All three deny the allegations.

Canada NOTES



Christine E. Gosselin; Manning (right) with 'Impeachment' letter, pointing

Seasonal sniping on the Hill

It was the season to be kinder. In the first week before the House of Commons adjourned for its Christmas break, relations between Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Reform party leader Preston Manning grew decidedly frosty. It began when Chrétien, appearing on a CBC TV "town hall forum," said that he would use federal constitutional powers to ensure that the question raised in his last Quebec revelation is unambiguous. The next day in the Commons, Manning responded by asking Chrétien to spell out what he intended to do. The Prime Minister dodged the question and instead lashed out at what he described as Manning's lack of patriotism. "There is not one day that he [Manning] does not want to make life difficult for a government that is trying to save Canada," said Chrétien, who added that the Reform leader "has no interest in keeping the country together."

Within 24 hours of that pronouncement, Manning released a letter in which he asked Parliament to come up with a procedure for petitioning the governor general to impeach the prime minister. Such a move might become necessary, he said, "if it becomes evident that there is a serious loss in the Prime Minister's Office." Chrétien responded by suggesting to reporters that the incriminating Manning "had a hell of a big party last night."

and put too much trust in his ego."

On the final day of sitting, Manning made a formal bid to have his party replace the Bloc Québécois—which holds 23 seats, one more than Reform—in the official opposition. That sparked a new round of jockeying with government House leader Herb Gray suggesting that Manning should be referred for a psychiatric assessment. And at the House, the Liberal majority pushed through its annual unity proposals, including a resolution recognizing Quebec's distinct society and amending the constitution to give Quebec a veto on federal laws. Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia. The Reform party and the Bloc Québécois voted against both measures.

Rape ruling

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the private counselling records of sexual assault victims may be handed over to their alleged assailants in a 5 to 4 decision, the court said that defendants need only establish that the counselling records are "likely to have relevance" for a judge to order that they be produced. Rape victims' advocates predicted that the ruling would discourage women from reporting sexual assaults because the resulting trials could be so intimidating.

TABLES TURNED

What a difference a year makes in U.S. politics

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL MOULDS

Newt Gingrich was building out. He was "somewhat toxic," and aside to the Republican Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. But Clinton was offensive. Preoccupying elements of a Gingrich budget plan were "unacceptable" to his Democratic administration, said the President. But on the two most spurned last week in a battle over the budget, Clinton clearly held the whip hand. Opposite polls confirmed a surge in popular support for Clinton and showed Gingrich in deep disfavor. The surveys also showed the Republican-controlled Congress bearing the brunt of blame for the budget impasse. At week's end, a new round of negotiations broke down. That suggested a partial shutdown of the government, for lack of spending authority, the second such closure in five weeks. The developments jeopardized the remnants of Gingrich's right-wing agenda, a program already largely rejected in a legislative limbo. And it reinforced a transformation that, in many political perceptions, has reduced Gingrich's once all-powerful tenure to that of a ghost of Christmas past.

A year ago, Gingrich rode a crest of hype in congressional and parts of a conservative revolution that had gained the first Republican House majority in 40 years in the 1994 elections. His party also won control of the Senate. He preached the need to reduce federal taxes, public debt and government itself. He shared his inspirations with like-minded politicians abroad, including Reform party leader Preston Manning (who paid Gingrich a celebratory visit last March). His "Contract with America" aimed to dismantle social programs constructed during the previous 60 years. He vowed "cooperation but no compromise" with Clinton. His personal nemesis, who was then hunkered down for what many people assumed would be two inept years completing his term. Two magazine accounts gave Gingrich the "most powerful political leader in America."

That was then. Now, heading into campaigning for both the presidency and Congress next Nov. 5, Democrats are beginning to talk of a comeback. At the least, they expect a second four-year term for the barn-burner Clinton, newly combative at home and assertive abroad in terms of trade peace in Bosnia. The key Democratic campaign weapon, says Senate Minority Leader Tim Wirth, will be Newt Gingrich. He is only haltingly the Democratic national committee in developing anti-Gingrich strategies as he writes an opinion poll. His approval rating slumped to a low point of 20 per cent in a New York Times/CBS News survey completed early last week. Clinton was the approval of 51 per cent all opinion polls in the same poll, up from just 38 per cent a year ago.

Gingrich, and his legislative ambitions, have become more

vulnerable in recent weeks. Late in November, as he began to withdraw from the limelight he had dominated for a year, the Federal Election Commission launched a lawsuit against a political action committee called GOPAC that Gingrich helped until last May. The commission said that in the late 1980s, when GOPAC purported to be operating only at the state level, the organization unlawfully funded federal elections and candidates, including Gingrich. Just days after the initial legal proceedings, the bipartisan House ethics committee announced an investigation into other aspects of Gingrich's financial activities. Those developments surrounded the Speaker with whiffs of scandal, even as Senate Republicans turned up the heat in an inquiry into past activities of the President and Hillary Clinton and her associates. That investigation is connected to the so-called Whitewater real estate affair in Arkansas when Clinton was governor of the state.

The suggestion of political and financial chicanery hang monolithically over the political careers of both Clinton and Gingrich as next year's election approaches. Forbidding of the campaigning are already conceivable. The Democrats' anti-Gingrich theme—what political tactician call "Newscare"—recurred a live test in a congressional by-election last week in California's Silicon Valley Democratic candidate Jerry Estrada based his bid for a House seat vacated by another Democrat on attacking his Republican opponent as a Newt clone intent on robbing Medicare for seniors. Medicaid for the poor and education for the young.

The tactic failed, possibly because it was misdirected. Winner Tom Campbell, a Santa Clara law professor known locally for earlier representing a neighboring district in Congress, in fact kept his distance from the Gingrich agenda. And he ran as a second of odds with far-right positions espoused by many Gingrichites—supporting abortion rights, gun control and environmental protection laws. His opponent, the religious right's influence within his party. Before voting day,

Campbell was quoted as saying that his victory in the state of California "sure would be a repudiation of the Democratic strategy."

Underlined, the Democrats are using the same strategy in a race for an Oregon Senate seat formerly held by Republican Bob Packwood, who resigned to meet expenses for the sexual harassment of female staffers. The cannot will be decided by a unique method poll to be conducted on Jan. 30. No such Newscare was required in another by-election last week. Jose Jackson Jr., 30-year-old son of the civil rights leader, won in a widely Democratic South Chicago House district that was vacated

by a congressman sentenced to five years in prison for sexual abuse conduct with an underage campaign worker. The Republicans now hold 236 of the 435 seats in the House and 51 of the 100 Senate seats. Their opponents include parts of the House and own in the Senate from November elections since the 1994 elections.

Despite the Republican setbacks, the momentum of the Gingrich revolution has been stalled since a 300-day blitz of House legislation concluded in April. By last week, not a single Contract with America initiative of consequence had handled procedures to reconcile conflicting House and Senate versions and became law.

Some of the most controversial Contract proposals are embedded in budget legislation for the fiscal year that opened on Oct. 1. But the focus of the Clinton-Gingrich struggle is a massive measure that purports to pave the way in seven years to a definitive budget by cutting outlays on social programs and raising insurance premiums on Medicare while cutting taxes on capital gains and middle-class in comes. Corresponding for context are reauthorizing programs to keep government going with income spending and borrowing provisions. An expense in November sent 800,000 federal workers on a six-day furlough. The Republicans refused to move the latest temporary spending authority as it expired late last week. That was expected to affect fewer than 300,000 workers because some spending bills have been enacted since last November.



The squabbling over the budget has acquired an air of controversy as White House and congressional officials bolster over conflicting assumptions on how the economy will behave between now and the year 2002. The fight has taken on differences of tens of a percentage point in forecasts of gross domestic product, the consumer price index or unemployment—any of which can alter expectations of revenue and spending by billions of dollars. Against the difficulty of predicting the economy's performance over months in advance, trying to forecast its direction for seven years seems like an exercise in futility. Reality simply asked how two-year balanced budget laws enacted in 1985 and 1997. But the Republicans attach importance to seven years. Last week, the party launched a campaign to counter Democratic proposals. One Republican TV commercial campaign portrays Clinton proposing difficult budget-balancing deadlines—naturally from seven to 10 years—during the last few months of Gingrich, when asked at a mid-September press conference what his basis his group chose seven years, replied simply "intuition."

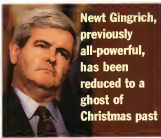
At the same meeting with reporters, the lawmakers

Bill Clinton, once the impotent president, now holds the whip hand at home and abroad

Speaker delivered another strawman warning that to mandate budgeting why he stretched a suit across his Medicare premiums in a November election spending bill (which guaranteeing a Clinton veto), Gingrich said it was partly because he felt that the President treated him disrespectfully when he had to sit to the rear of Clinton on the presidential plane. The fit of rage exposed an obvious streak in the politicians and other arrogant Speaker. Two weeks after his exile, Gingrich put in a statement that he might jump onto the 1996 presidential contest. Then, he announced to his House caucus that he would "sit on the bench for a while" and defend more public duties to himself.

Gingrich's troubles have prompted some Republicans to draw away from him—certainly Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole. Now, by a wide margin, he is considered the best bet to succeed Clinton as the party's nomination for the presidency in state-by-state primary elections that open in February and run through the spring. Dole, overshadowed by Gingrich throughout the year, has lately seized the opportunity to promote compromise. Only last week, the Senate leader pushed for fresh talks on the budget. As well, the focus of a House resolution fully opposing Clinton's dispatch of U.S. troops to intervene peace in Bosnia. Dole graded the Senate to an accommodation, if, if different, assert in the House.

In last week's opinion poll, public approval of Dole rose seven points from October to 52 per cent, virtually equal to Clinton's current rating. But, in a showdown, the survey says Clinton will shed 10 of 52 to 40 points. Thomas Mann, a political scientist at the Brookings Institution in Washington, is among analysts who forecast, for now, the reelection of Clinton and the return of Republican prominence in Congress. But he cautions that "we're going to have a lot of ups and downs before [the Congress is concluded]." As Gingrich has learned to his cost, and as Clinton has discovered in his town, a more modest—or a less unguarded word—can transform political fortune. □



Newt Gingrich, previously all-powerful, has been reduced to a ghost of Christmas past

Back to the gulag

Beijing comes down hard on a leading dissident

He had lasted a few brief months of freedom. After more than 24 years of harsh confinement in Chinese prisons and labor camps, the country's leading dissident had been released in 1989. His actions went right back to doing what he had done before, criticizing the government, publishing articles, talking to foreigners. In less than seven months, his time was up again. Chinese authorities arrived at his door in April, 1994. At that point he simply disappeared—and five weeks later, when he resurfaced, he was in the Beijing No. 1 Intermediate People's Court for a subversion trial that quickly led to a sentence of another 24 years in prison.

Human rights groups reacted angrily. Amnesty later named the American branch called on the Chinese administration to punish China for "viciously repressing political dissent." The dissident's sister, Wu Shuashan, told a Washington news conference that she feared that her brother might not survive his re-imprisonment because of heart problems. But despite a flurry of official protests from Western governments including the United States and Canada, it seemed clear that Beijing would wait little longer to lock up the 66-year-old dissident again.

Wei has been compared to Poland's Lech Wałęsa, the Soviet Union's Andrei Sakharov and South Africa's Nelson Mandela. He is unambiguously China's most vocal and consistent democracy advocate. But he is far from his dissident years. At least in one respect. Thanks to Beijing's near-total control over political expression, few Chinese have read or heard the views for which Wei has spent much of his adult life in prison. As one high-ranking Canadian official says, "There is no movement to lock him up, so our 100 million people, let's be generous, don't see the inside story."

"Yet, he maintains an impressive defiance. In 1978 and 1979, as Deng Xiaoping was tightening his grip on power, Wei gained huge overseas for his powerful essays and "signature" posters at the Beijing street corner that came to be known as Democracy

Wall. When Deng denounced the Democracy Wall activists, Wei replied with a searing article accusing Deng of becoming as much a dictator as the Communist state's founder Mao Zedong. That led to a 15-year sentence for counter-revolutionism.

Wei was released six months early, at a time when Beijing was mounting an intense, though unsuccessful, bid to host the 2000 Olympics. He told foreign reporters he regretted nothing, but he still believed in democracy for China. The final, and for

millions left behind by China's roaring high-growth, high-inflation economy. Even the nature of the changes against Wei last week spoke of an official crackdown riddled with paranoia. The state media said his movement again had planned to raise funds, even "organize art exhibitions," on behalf of a democracy movement that would "take a storm powerful enough to shake up the present government." He was also cited for writing critical articles in the foreign press and calling for Tibetan independence.

In fact, China has been pursuing a tightrope policy on all fronts where it faces challenges. Alarmed at growing pro-independence sentiment in Taiwan, it has held a series of military exercises near the province island in recent months. When the exiled Dalai Lama chose a six-year-old boy as the reincarnation of Tibet's second-ranking religious leader, the Panchen Lama, Beijing responded by choosing its own six-year-old and installing him with great ceremony. Within the leadership, says



Wei Jingsheng at his trial, behind a sign reading "the accused," an aggressive defiance

Beijing, informing street cases in February, 1994, when he met with John Stutzick, the visiting U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights.

His family said he would appeal—indeed to most observers that Beijing is willing to brook no opposition at an extremely sensitive time politically. The ruling Deng Xiaoping, 91 and unable to public for nearly two years in bed, likely to live much longer. The current leadership remains a delicate balance. President Jiang Zemin, Deng's second son, has been consolidating power, but Premier Li Peng—sometimes called the "father of Beijing" for his role in the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown—remains a formidable player. At the same time, sporadic protests have burst out among the

China watcher Diana Lary of the University of British Columbia. "I see great in security at the moment. That's why China is becoming hot."

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SENATOR WORKMAN
with LUCIE MONTELLI in Beijing

FRANCE ROLLS AGAIN

French train workers voted to end their three-week strike protesting government spending cuts, alleviating the worst of the stoppages that paralyzed the country. Other public employees prepared to return to work as well. The break came after Prime Minister Alain Juppé abandoned plans to cut the railway system, suspended a planned overhaul of pensions and agreed to a "social summit" with unions. He had argued that the cuts were needed to prepare for European monetary union. Last week, European leaders agreed that the new currency in public operation by 2002 would be called the "euro."

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

Leaders of 10 Southeast Asian countries signed a treaty banning possession, manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons, creating a vast nuclear-free zone from Indonesia to Burma. The United States and China objected on grounds the ban could cause problems for their weapons. The accord, however, allows "innocent passage" for foreign weapons that may be carrying nuclear weapons. The agreement coincided with reports that nearby India may be preparing for a nuclear test.

VIOLENCE IN BRITTON

Violence broke out in London's predominantly black district of Brixton over complaints of police brutality. Younger men and pelted police with rocks and bottles in a fit of violence. The outburst followed a demonstration over the death in Brixton police station of an arrested black man. Authorities said he suffered from heart disease.

AID OFFICIAL ARRESTED

A Canadian relief worker in Palestine was detained on suspicion of funding the Egyptian Islamic Jihad in Israel, his wife said. Ahmed Saad, 40, was arrested by Israeli soldiers on Dec. 3, according to Mena Elamra, his wife. She said Ahmed and Palestine currency that police found in a search was for the agency's staff payroll.

CHECHNYA FIGHTING

Separatist rebels attempting to keep Russia's national elections (now being held in Chechnya) passed control from the region's second-biggest city, Grozny, to Russia's capital, Moscow. Reports said 22 Russian troops were killed in what Defense Minister Pavel Grachev called "a cruel fight." The military sealed off the Chechen-capital, Grozny.

World NOTES



Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman after signing peace

Bringing hope to Bosnia

In the pilled splendor of the Elvez Palace in Paris, leaders of eight nations gathered for the signing of the U.S.-brokered Bosnia peace pact. Despite qualms among some Bosnians, the agreement seemed likely to bring a peaceful Christmas to the war-torn Balkans for the first time in four years. U.S. President Bill Clinton told the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, who signed the agreement they had reached in Dayton, Ohio, in November, to "seize this chance and make it work."

The signing set the legal stage for the deployment of 60,000 NATO troops who will guarantee the peace, including about 1,900 Canadian. Resolving questions about American participation were swept away when both houses of the U.S. Congress promptly went along with Clinton's plan to commit 24,000 troops. The House, though opposed to the move, voted not to block funds, while the Senate passed a motion allowing the deployment but avoiding the word "approve."

Two days before the signing, two French pilots captured by Bosnian Serb fighters in August were handed back to French forces. A month later, French forces of the agreement

was the announcement by the International Monetary Fund that the new Bosnian, its borders closed and recognized by its neighbors, could join the organization and qualify for loans. In the grey world of international finance, Bosnia is now officially a nation.

Baboon help

A man dying of AIDS received a controversial transplant of baboon bone marrow that some scientists hoped would save him. After a two-year campaign, AIDS activist Jeff Getty gained U.S. Food and Drug Administration approval for the groundbreaking procedure in August. The 30-minute transplant, similar to a blood transfusion, was carried out last week at San Francisco General Hospital. Bone marrow produces immune-system cells that AIDS destroys. For reasons not yet understood, baboons do not get the fatal disease. Scientists theorize that transplanted stem cells from baboon marrow could take root in Getty's own bone marrow and produce immune-system cells that can fight AIDS. Some experts, however, fear that the infection could inadvertently spread unknown diseases to humans. Baboons will not be known for several months.

Cautious consumers and slim profit margins add up to a chilly retail season

BY JENNIFER WELLS

Sas the weather was lousy. That can't excuse all of what happened at Crestone Creek Farms in Victoria in mid-November. Crestone Creek is one of the major Christmas crèche buyers in Crestone, B.C. It's the only retailer in the city. Last year, Crestone Creek was there to sell, selling for city prices, which she couldn't under her company name. The Crestone Women's Society, consumers were far less driven than the crèche's creator. Crestone Creek's sales, at \$200, were exactly half of what she made last year. And it was not just Crestone Creek's retailers were down, too. Still, it could have been worse, which it was when she attended a wholesale cost show in Toronto. "I didn't even need there," says Crestone. "I made up my mind and my expenses." It seems unlikely that this has anything to do with the popularity of what Crestone makes—the successful sells her wares in the National Gallery in Ottawa—but rather with cautious consumerism. "People come up to me love it, they don't open their wallets."

Moody's complaint has become a nationwide retailers' lament this



Most retail clothing store advertising pre-Christmas discounts, shopping for computers in Vancouver (right): deep price cuts

HOLIDAY HUMBUG

Christmas. Anecdotal reports of a dismal season abound, with retailers banking on a seasonal drought that first pre-Christmas week-end, on being hit, an explosive discount week. "The fact of the matter is, particularly in Christmas," says retail analyst George Harrison of Jones Capital Canada, a brokerage in Toronto. "Everyone has talking to watching a tough time."

When Karelle Brien, sales manager at Artisan's Trading Inc. in Montreal, talks to retailers he hears of sales dropping by 30 to 35 per cent over last year. When John St. Onge, who manages the 225 store Sherway Gardens shopping mall in Toronto, shares the mall's retailers at random, he hears of sales decreases of 10 to 32 per cent. "People," he says, "seem to be tapped out."

And cautiously depressed. This was, after all, a grim year for workers. The latest round of job cuts has been aimed at the public sector, where more than 116,000 direct government employees lost their jobs over a 12-month period in November. Job security is also tight, particularly in Ontario, as more than 11,000 civil servants wait to hear who will get the axe. Those who are confident of keeping on in their jobs cannot be cheered by Confederation Board of Canada predictions that unemployed workers will see an average 1.4-per-cent pay increase in 1996. Non-unionized employees will not have much better, with anticipated average increases of 2.4 per cent.

These figures seem worthy reward for the great sales in corporate markets—increases of 40 per cent, 45 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively, in the first three quarters of 1995. "I don't see any problem," says Andrew Jackson, senior economist with the Canadian Labour Congress in Ottawa. "A major restructuring in the public sector, which has created a public sector recession, limited with no real income growth and no real job growth in the private sector." Retailers

hit because, as Jackson says, that sector mirrors society as a whole. Retailers have had enough bad news to drink with over the past half dozen years. Sales fell off a cliff after 1989, and in the necessary aftermath Canadian retail companies have had to deal with the increase of all manner of U.S. stores, from specialty to so-called big-box discounters. John Williams, a Toronto retail consultant, says the retail picture has not been convincingly grim. He says there has been steady growth since 1991, though retail has seemed a relative slipper in an export-driven economy. George Harrison is much more pessimistic. He thinks a high percentage of Canadian retailers will be pulled yes—perhaps as high as 35 per cent by the year 2000.

That seems an astounding number, particularly given the moves the retail survivors have made to trim in expansion plans, restructuring, or even seek bankruptcy protection. As the smug Canadian retailers best-reviewed themselves against a higher standard of excellence—and in the economy, if slowly, pulled itself out of recession—their sales were up 6.8 per cent in 1994, after slipping 2.2 per cent in 1993. There had been expectations that 1995 would repeat that performance. Instead, says retail consultant Ian Kuban, there has been a delicate softening over 1994. He thinks British Columbia and Alberta are nevertheless poised to see a three-to-five-per-cent improvement over last year, though it will be months before hard data are in. There is no question, he says, that Ontario, which accounts for 40 per cent of the \$285-billion retail market, and Quebec are apprehensive.

And so all this has been a whacking increase in consumer debt. In the third quarter of this year, debt as a percentage of personal disposable income hit 69 per cent. That, says Anne Campbell, economist in Scotland in Toronto, is a historic high, 34 per cent higher than it

decade ago. For the past five years, instead of paying down debt, Canadians have been rolling it into lower-cost loans.

The brightest news for consumers is not good news at all for retailers—shows are discounting goods earlier and deeper than ever before. Retailers across the country are doing it, says Kuban, and there are bargains to be had. Hilly grey reduction tractors into square pegs, says Williams. Mac's MacDonald, general manager of the Square One shopping centre in Mississauga, cites mid-December discounts of 65 or even 70 per cent. "I don't know how much lower they can go," she says. Big stores might carve profits from what is left on the basis of large net sales. Small stores cannot.

It is the high-volume companies that have recent Canadian shopping, then big-box players such as Price/Costco in so-called category killers like Computer City and Sportmart, Inc. In what locals call the G28—the Greater Toronto Area—more than a half-million square feet of shopping space has opened this year in the sporting goods and athletic footwear segments alone. On New St., Calgary's Fortinos Group Ltd. opened a 25,000-square-foot Sport Chek store just outside MacDonald's Square One. The place thrives, according with hip-hop music and features two lasting cups and a basketball court—for trying was there Nike Air Transcend, on sale now for \$99.95,

and for playing a little three-on-three. The Fortinos group has opened 35 Sport Chek stores in the past two years, including Montreal, N.B., and Halifax and also in Vancouver with a putting green and tennis practice board. This is the new age of retail—for the moment. "Retailers wonder whether the market can support all the action. The answer, probably. There is no doubt consumers will benefit from the competition in the stores. They already have in computers and software—a sector that is still, according to Kuban, moving nicely this year. Toys, however, are having a rough time, says Kuban. No single toy is blazoning last day yet, and computers have supplanted most of the action for any child above the age of three. Apparel retailers in the fall, while some boutiques have started discounting, have been sellers, as is the policy of the nascent Chapters Inc. bookstore chain, which has moved into Burlington, Ont., and Burnaby, B.C. Consumers have become educated. They know their price points.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the discounters are niche luxury markets. In addition to the tidal wave of profits that clothed one corporate Canada, it was a very good year for Bay Street. Bob Lander, president of Weston & Holmes Ltd., says there is money around. Weston & Holmes is a department store/department store/shopping equipment company in Toronto. Lander is currently planning the move of his Toronto shop to a large spot across the greenhouse, one that can accommodate a 500-seat outdoor seating room, where one may enjoy a \$60 drink order. Lander's company, "the Billy Boyer" of cigars, as Lander calls it, "People are pampering themselves," he says. "It's a renaissance back to the good old days."

They are heading for services, too. Glenn Wideman's experience, however, is a double-edged sword. Wideman's shop in Square One is experiencing its best holiday season ever. Among Wideman's most popular items are hand-stained leather boots that sell for \$275. And he has no trouble selling those. Fisher Wideman or his wife, Mary, is in the shop every day, seven days a week. They issue their own currency, giving 10 per cent back on every purchase. Wideman's company, which

SPIRIT OF THE SEASON

Q: The Christmas, do you plan to spend more, less or the same as last year?

More	15%
The same	49
Less	29
Unsure/Do not celebrate Christmas	7

Q: How much do you plan to spend on gifts for your spouse/partner?

Under \$25	8%
\$26 to \$50	16
\$51 to \$75	11
\$76 to \$100	16
Over \$100	46

*Percentages exclude respondents who are unsure/lost or do not celebrate Christmas.

Source: Angus Reid poll of 1,000 Canadian adults, Nov. 20 to 24

helps create a culture of customers. "Two guys have \$1,000 in our money," says Wideman, which is a handsome markup on \$10,000 worth of purchases. The Widemans have plenty of corporate customers. And they rarely put anything on sale. "We don't want that customer," says Wideman.

Andrew Jackson lists an increasing gap-and-pull between the haves and the have-nots. He says that 1995 was "a pretty bad year for people" and 1996, he says, looks no better. The good news? Well, PNC Bank, run by Pittsburgh National Corp. in Philadelphia, reports that the "Twelve Days of Christmas Index" took a big tumble this year. PNC index as the cost of the annual Christmas dinner and while the cost of eight meals averaged \$100, it was changed at \$347 U.S., and those kinds of things went up in price, transporter services could be had cheap. The final bid in 1995: \$125,944.30. For this Christmas: \$12,385.05 in U.S. dollars, of course. □

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Of mice and men



THE BOTTOM LINE

BY DEBORAH MCMURTRY

In psychology it is known as "closure": an analysis of, and reconciliation with, past events that allows us to move forward and—well, back—avoid reliving the same mistakes. After 1996 at the door, it is time to contemplate some of the high and low points of the past year in business.

Rogers, Unlabeled. Rogers Communications Ltd. forced a hard lesson in customer service. The company sparked a consumer rebellion with its air of so-called "negative opinion marketing"—Canadian cable subscribers straight-up—and successfully—objected to Rogers' pricing, that they should automatically pay for a series of new specialty channels, unless they agreed to cancel them. After a half-hat savage public beating by customers, Rogers president Colin Watson held a press conference to admit: "We made a mistake and we apologize."

McGraw-Hill Greeces. As a long editorial columnist about the economic crisis in Mexico, The World Street Journal derided Canada in an "Economic Third World country" because of its high debt levels. "Mexico isn't the only U.S. creditor for bailing with the financial crisis," pronounced the Journal.

A Shock Deal. Finance Minister Paul Martin introduced a federal budget aimed at reducing the federal deficit from its 1995 level of \$37.5 billion. However, by cutting transfer payments to the provinces and increasing the size of the civil service by 45,000 jobs, Martin also took the first, critical step towards re-creating Confederation.

And the Peace Tower Would Make a Great Credo. In its same budget, Martin pledged to raise money by privatizing several Crown corporations. Best example, by mid-November, Ottawa had raised \$1.8 billion by selling off 30 per cent of its 70-per-cent stake in Petro-Canada, \$2.2 billion from the sale of shares in Canadian National Railways, and another \$3.5 billion from the sale of Bank Canada. Canada's national bank control system.

Beerings' Strike. From a desk in Stoupeville, Nick Lesorel blew up Britain's venerable *Beck's* Beers with \$1.9 million in beached derivatives trades. Lesson is

now serving hard time for fraud in a Stoupeville jail. Second prize in this category goes to Teleshop Inc. (Lancet), a New York-based trader in Joe Zappa's U.S. bank. He cancelled losses of \$1.5 billion on U.S. bond deals (Lancet) just issued on price for fraud and Zappa just issued out of the U.S. market.

In Canada, however, the fall of justice in relation to the market. A full year after they were charged with fraud in the collapse of broker Coder Inc., Tony Chernack and Paul Cohen were respectively sentenced to seven years in prison. Their former boss, Les Gaudin, got eight years. All three are now free but had pending appeals.

The Mice That Roared. A trade deal of merger made some billions of dollars in corporate assets change hands. Disney's \$25-billion purchase of Capital Cities/ABC wasn't nearly Mickey Mouse. But top dollar was the \$45 billion that Microsoft Bank poured up for the Bank of Tokyo.

In Canada, honorable mention goes to Drex Corp., which, with some prodding from impatient institutional shareholders, put lawyer John Leibel Ltd.—and its stoogues—into play. Once done, the company was worth an \$2.4-billion bid.

But the action did flash out some bad news who paid \$2.7 billion for it.

My Me to the Moon. Technology stocks—especially anything with leverage in the Internet—drove the Dow Jones index to record levels. In Canada, an initial public offering of shares in a new company, after a storm, was snuffed up in seconds by greedy investors.

The Ain't They, He's My Brother. The Businessweek, Moir and Mack, became the latest corporate obligee to prove that water is thicker than blood. In 1991, Mack (of Mark's Wet Workshop, the Calgary clothing retailer) ousted Moir from the company. Last week, after the Workshop board ousted Mack, Moir decided to poison. He hoped to make it bad to acquire the company. The Businessweek's are now a joint attack of Walker and Harrison McCain, whose bitter feud over control of McCain Foods spilled over from 1994 into 1995. This year, Wallace moved to Toronto and bought control of Maple Leaf Foods.

MONTREAL'S GLOOM

Montreal is bracing for the loss of nearly 7,000 jobs by the end of 1996. Jean-Marc Lajoie, director of the city's economic development office, noted that Canadian Pacific Ltd.'s decision to move its rail headquarters to Calgary cost the city 750 jobs. Several other major employers in the city are downsizing, including Bell Canada and the CRTC. And three of the city's hospitals are slated to close.

INFLATION PRESSURES EASE

Low inflation in Canada and the United States in November could set the stage for a cut in interest rates. Last month, consumer prices in Canada edged up just 0.2 per cent. The annual rate was 2.1 per cent, compared with 2.4 per cent in October. Similarly low rates in the United States could allow the U.S. Federal Reserve to cut interest rates, with the Bank of Canada following suit. Canada's prime rate stood at 7.25 per cent last week.

DEREGULATION'S COST

Canadians paid sharply higher fares and the airline industry suffered massive losses following deregulation of the sector in the 1980s. According to a study by Statistics Canada, passenger fares jumped by 68 per cent between 1987 and 1994. In the same period, average consumer prices rose only 25 per cent. The study said higher fares and charges at some airports were among the factors responsible for the fare increases.

SEAWAY FOR SALE

After selling off Air Canada and Canadian National Railways, the federal government wants to unload its marine assets, the last major element in Ottawa's once-extensive national transportation network. Transport Minister Doug Young said he hopes to privatize the \$100-million Seaway and sell as many as 100 points to local authorities. In addition, the government plans to slash subsidies to ferries and harbours. The measure could save as much as \$100 million a year.

OIL PROJECT LAUNCHED

Calgary-based Petro-Canada and a consortium of other firms, including Mobil Oil Canada Ltd., plan to spend \$2 billion to develop the Terns Nova offshore oil field off Newfoundland's Terns Nova field. The field has an estimated 400 million barrels, two-thirds as much as nearby Hibernia. A Petro-Canada spokesman said the field will be brought into production by the year 2001. Two other fields in the area holding 200 million barrels each are also attracting interest.

Business NOTES

ON-LINE VIDEO:

ABC president Robert Wright, left, and Microsoft chairman Bill Gates, shown on video speaking from Hong Kong, announce plans for a new 24-hour cable news channel and related on-line service to be distributed via the Internet. The interactive service, dubbed Internet Cable, is scheduled to start in the second half of 1996. Each company said it will invest \$270 million over five years to fund the joint venture. The ABC network is also drawing up plans for a round-the-clock news channel.



Interac busted

After a three-year investigation by the Federal Competition Bureau, the Interac Inc. monopoly that operates banking machines across the country is being opened up—a move that could benefit consumers if rivals introduce lower service fees for some types of debit card purchases. Bureau director George Aylis said Interac—which is controlled by the Big Six banks along with Canada Trust, Credit Union Central of Canada and Quebec's Desjardins group—shook its monopoly position by keeping banking fees artificially high.

Analysis says the fees that consumers pay to use the system—between 35 and 47 cents per transaction—are likely to drop once new deposit-taking institutions such as inner-city and brokerage companies, retailers and others enter the field. Aylis also said that the changes will give consumers greater access to their accounts. In fact, it should be possible for a bank's customer not only to withdraw money but also to pay bills, deposit funds and perform other such transactions at any other institution's automatic machine.

Interac president Joanne De Laurencis said businesses will also benefit because a retailer

who accepts a cheque will now be able to clear it from the customer's bank account almost immediately—a process that now involves banks exchanging papers at paper through a clearance system. Said De Laurencis: "The agreement opens the door to more competition."

Split runs banned

A controversial bill that prohibits foreign magazine publishers from producing Canadian editions with minimal Canadian content has cleared its final hurdle in Parliament. By a vote of 51 to 34, senators defeated a proposed amendment that would have exempted 12 *Sports Illustrated* editions a year from a new extra tax on Canadian content advertising revenues. The new law is aimed at spurring editions of magazines, which are produced by recycling editorial content from a publication's home market in another country, alongside newly sold advertising.

A 39-year Canadian law had banned ad sales, but *Sports Illustrated* had found a loophole by using new technology to transmit the content to Canadian printers. The law will impose an 80-per-cent tax on Canadian ad revenues generated by split-run publishers.



through the actual operation has to be done outside the province, since its local surgeons are qualified. The province will pick up the \$10,000 tab for any and all grades/challenged individuals. According to Dr. Diane Watson, medical director of psychiatry at Vancouver Hospital, the sex change surgery will actually save taxpayers money because they'll "no longer have to pay for the treatment of depression, anorexia, and high blood pressure" among those inclined to switch sexual identities.

If the phone don't ring, you'll know it's not Canada's most elusive business resource. Robert Friedland, whose Diamond Fire Resources Inc. base metal strike at Wabey Bay in Labrador has turned him into a billionaire, finally made public his home address: The Vancouver Stock Exchange precinct now operates throughout Southeast Asia, bustling for gold, sapphires, emeralds, jade and copper. "I gave away my ordinary life a long time ago," he confided to a reporter in a June 1995 interview. "I have a hyperactive divorce. I live on suit 1-A, Singapore Airlines. That's my address." OK, but where should we send all those *Reader's Digest* letters claiming you're just worth a million dollars?

Toiling in the grove of academia for fun and profit, although Canadian universities operate under tight budgets and can often only stay afloat if students pay much higher tuition fees, some of their professors have become alchemists, turning shoddy ideas into gold. A University of British Columbia chemist recently revealed that 315 of its staff cars were worth \$300,000, and one professor, Johan Benedict, who heads the chemistry department at the faculty of medicine, is listed on the university payroll at \$218,942. At competing Simon Fraser University, Kelvin Lardner, a mathematics professor who retired this year, was being paid \$250,136. The best guess is

Political games of the year Paul Gagliardi, a Klamath preacher who became British Columbia's minister of highways in the Social Credit government of R. A. C. Bortol, died in September, an occasion that prompted the revival of his most famous quote: Caught in an obvious fix, he explained: "If I'm taking a fix, it's because I believe I'm telling the truth." How's that again?

Feed them M & M's and shut them the hell up! A Decca Research survey commissioned by the Confectionery Manufacturers Association of Canada revealed that, given the choice between sex and chocolate, 38 per cent of women and 30 per cent of men voted for the sweet stuff. More significantly, an astonishing 71 per cent of Quebecers opted for chocolate as the ultimate pleasure, describing the act of eating it as "pure ecstasy" that made them "feel good all over." No wonder Quebecers are so convinced there is no distinct society.



Peet:
looking for laughs

PEOPLE

A TOUGH ACT TO FOLLOW

Doing a remake of a movie can be a daunting experience, especially if it is one as beloved as 1955's *Salina*, which starred Humphrey Bogart and Audrey Hepburn. Not only are there few lead actresses involved with *Evening*, there is pressure to surpass the original. But Harrison Ford says he did not have a moment to play the role of the

workaholic Loras Larrabee in the new version. "I wasn't concerned about being compared with Bogart because we are two very different people," he told *Metropolis*. Besides, after starring in so many action films, Ford says he has spent the last three years looking for a good comedy. "The pace to some of the 'thick' comedies," he adds, "I laughed myself silly, but they aren't the kind of movies I want to act in." *Salina*, however, offered him the opportunity he was looking for, although it is a love story, it also offers plenty of humor. "Comedy is tough," he says, "but that's my perverse sense of fun—to get involved in a situation where I have to work really hard."

LIFE AFTER O.J.

Judging from the reception that Clark Kirk received in Toronto last week, one might think that the Los Angeles prosecutor was the winner in the murder trial of O. J. Simpson. At his first Canadian appearance since a jury declared the former football great "not guilty" in September of killing his ex-wife Nicole Brown and her friend Ronald Goldman, Kirk drew a capacity crowd of more than 2,500—most of them women—in Roy Thomson Hall at \$30 a pop per ticket. After speaking on domestic violence, he took questions from the audience. While some wanted the inside scoop on the trial—which Clark refused to discuss—others simply wanted to say how they had come to admire him during the televised trial. Clark, who has taken lodging in Vancouver's Northwest Hotel in New York City in the New Year, seemed taken back by all the praise. "It's not extraordinary," he told her listeners. "What I do is very ordinary—it's just that you saw me doing it." Still, like any good trial lawyer, Clark showed that she can think on her feet, easily dodging questions about the trial, her former partner and her love life. Asked about her current life, she simply followed Simpson prosecutor Christopher Darden, she said simply, "I am in Toronto now." Clark, no doubt, is receiving her best material for her forthcoming book, for which she has a \$5.7-million contract with Penguin USA.



Clark:
defendant
questions

A CRACKING TALE

The Second World War had been over for 12 years by the time British writer Robert Harris was born in 1957. But the period still holds a deep fascination for him. Harris's first novel, *Pompeii*, portrayed a world in which Nazi Germany had won the war. Published in 1992, it was an international hit, selling more than four million copies in 25 languages. With his new thriller, *Harris*, Harris has again taken to the war for inspiration. This time, however, the fast-paced fiction is based more closely on historical fact: the gathering at rural Bletchley Park of many of Britain's sharpest minds to crack the Germans' most sophisticated device for encoding secret messages, the so-called Enigma machine. As part of his research, Harris interviewed some real-life Enigma code breakers, most of whom had never talked before about their intelligence-gathering efforts. Their work led them to develop some of the first rudimentary computers. "Along with *Los Amigos*, where the Allies developed the atomic bomb," Harris notes, "Bletchley Park is where the modern world was formed."



Harris, Enigma code breaker



Harris: scaling a wall

FROM PINK FLOYD TO CD

He traces his show business roots back to a childhood spent playing on the runways of Toronto's Casa Loma, near the house where he grew up. "With his always played an important role for me symbolically," says Bob Ezrin, who produced the Rock band Pink Floyd—made famous by *The Wall*—and four Rock & Roll Hall of Fame winners. Ezrin is trying to breach the wall between the music and the media as president of Scepter Level Inc., a CD-RW company

that he co-joined in 1993 with a major investment from Microsoft junk bond king Michael Milken. Ezrin has discussed making educational CD-ROMs with such stars as Whoopi Goldberg, Quincy Jones and Hootie & the Blowfish. But his most popular CD-ROM is *Music Theory's Complete Guide of Time*—a collection of his firm's Blanton's classic comedy albums that reads up the whole interactive business.

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

The year of living on the edge—dangerously

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Nothing that happened in the year just passed can surprise the drama of the Oct. 30 referendum, which left Canada's fate hanging on a scant 55,000-vote margin in favor of Confederation. That was about the number of people who a few weeks later in Regina watched the Grey Cup depart for Baltimore. The citizens of any country whose destiny hinges on a football stadium full of people may have trouble absorbing some of the other absurdities that marked the past 12 months. But here goes anyway, with my nominations for 1995's most ridiculous events and sayings:

Where is that boob disposal squad when you need it? Madonna, 32, told *NBC's Prime Time Live* last week that her biological dad is not just guilty of taking away, but actually "KINGING [KINGING KINGING] me!" She confirmed that she plans to become pregnant to son as she battles the movie *Eve*, which begins filming in January. "If I don't get a couple of kids in the *Philly* before I find the appropriate sperm provider," she quipped. Another album in the works?

Eh, Lucien—you ever fantasized making arip pill? When Belgium film director Jan Bucquoy was taken to court in France on charges of "outrage to a public figure," he got off because he had missed when he threw a cream pie at French Culture Minister Philippe Douste-Blazy at the Cannes Film Festival. (The pie hit the minister's body guard.) Instead of being pelted, Bucquoy merely pledged to improve his aim.

Hi, honey—guess who's home in Paris, right now, Utah. Felix Unger decided golfing to defusing Bruce Jensen, his "husband" of 31½ years. Jensen, a medical lab technician, agreed to marry Unger, who was posing as an abandoned woman pregnant with twins, because he felt sorry for "her."

Canadians, whose destiny rides on a football stadium full of people, may have trouble absorbing the many absurdities that marked the past year

Ukraine alleged any of Jensen's subsequent associates by explaining that the two had been faithful—newsworthy running up \$54,000 on Jensen's credit cards. Perhaps Jensen should be reclassified to monitoring the Russian press process.

OK, let's give it to him—he's from the Canary Islands. Jose Saramago won Portugal's top literary award, for a horror novel titled *As Esposas do Diabo*. The Canary Islands author was awarded the prize, worth \$94,500, by a joint Portuguese-Brazilian jury, though only one of its members acknowledged reading the book. Maybe they're waiting for the video.

Frank quote of the year: Mike MacDonald of Edmonton's junk band *It's Great Wild*. "Looking back, I'm embarrassed by 56 per cent of the world I love, and I don't remember the other 56 per cent." Wasn't it the Golden Oldies tour in 2010?

Move to British Columbia for a new point of view in the past year; the Pacific province announced its willingness to pay for sex change operations for transsexuals, even

The magic bus

Hydrogen could be the fuel of the future

Obscurely, the 60-passenger vehicle that rolled out of a North Vancouver garage last week resembled an ordinary city bus. But its gleaming red-and-white body concealed a revolutionary new engine—called a fuel cell—that could transform North American energy consumption patterns in the 21st century. The engine, developed by Vancouver's Ballard Power Systems Inc., uses hydrogen as a fuel.

and, unlike the diesel-powered buses that brack exhaust fumes into the air of most cities, emits no pollutants at all. The bus can travel at 400 km/h, spends only 40 cents a litre of fuel and has hydraulic brakes. Ballard is not alone in the field with concern growing over the environmental crisis of gasoline- and diesel-powered vehicles, a company around the world is marketing a hydrogen-powered bus. The Hydrobus, made by the Vancouver company has emerged as a dominant force. "Right now," says Ronald Veness, vice-president of the University of Toronto's faculty of applied science and engineering, "Ballard has pretty much set the standard for development of hydrogen technologies in the world."

Ballard, 16-year-old publicly held company, established that last by launching research into fuel cells during the mid-1980s, when there was little interest in the technology. More recently, the company has attracted an impressive array of customers and research partners. Under a \$35-million research program with Ballard, the big German automaker Daimler-Benz AG last year installed a prototype fuel-cell-powered minivan. And the Chicago Transit Authority will begin testing three Ballard buses on city transit routes next year—with a view to eventually reaching Chicago's 2,000-plus fleet in 1995.

Company executives are convinced that business is going to get even better. By 1988, says company vice-president Mounoud Umedali, Ballard expects to begin full-scale production of fuel cells for buses and small fuel-cell-based electrical power plants. "We are convinced that the markets will be there," says Umedali, "because there are so many negative consequences to existing power sources." Investors seem to share that confidence, since though Ballard ended 1984 with

than \$20 million in debt, its shares are in demand on North American stock markets. On the Toronto Stock Exchange, Ballard shares closed last week at \$13.75.

Even so, Ballard has yet to demonstrate conclusively that its fuel cells can compete economically with other forms of energy. The idea of extracting energy from hydrogen without burning it is not new—a British inventor, Sir William Grove, worked out the

gers, Ballard's prototype has currently uses about 62 cents' worth of fuel per kilometer, but company officials maintain that the savings involved in factoring a fleet of buses could cut that to about 21 cents per kilometer—close to the 15 to 18 cents per kilometer it currently costs to fuel a typical city bus. Producing affordable fuel-cell-powered cars will take longer: "We're not talking about automobiles powered economically by fuel cells," says Unifuel's "until after the year 2000."

When they do arrive, cars running on fuel cells could manage the difficult job of pleasing both motorists and environmentalists. Unlike buses, which can be fueled up with hydrogen at a dedicated station, fuel-cell-powered cars will probably operate by extracting hydrogen from natural gas, gasoline and other widely available fuels. While fuel cells running on pure hydrogen produce zero emissions, vehicles consuming hydrogen from natural gas will produce some emissions, but in such small amounts, fuel-cell experts say, they would still qualify under California's 1990 anti-air-pollution law. The nation's only full-scale, on-site hydrogen production facility, located in North America's largest—in absolute terms—oil refinery, produces hydrogen for use in the production of synthetic natural gas. The refinery is owned by the Texas Eastern Gas Processing Corp., a subsidiary of the Texas Eastern Gas Co., which is a subsidiary of the Texas Eastern Gas Co., which is a subsidiary of the Texas Eastern Gas Co.

high torque at low speeds, which means rapid acceleration.

In the race to find environmentally friendly alternatives to the internal combustion engine, battery-powered electric cars are the only other serious contenders. But existing battery technology would give electric cars a limited driving range, between lengthy recharges—drawbacks that most drivers would probably find unacceptable. Bailed in by that, the fuel cell is an idea whose time has come—and the Chicago Transit Authority thinks so. Billard is probably right. Says Frank Wenzel, who is in charge of technical services for the CTA, "We think this is the wave of the future."

MARK NICHOLS

MARK NICHOLS



MARKETING

Tobacco's soft sell

Joe Tupper would like to think all the sponsors involved in the 15th annual de Munnier Ltd. New Music Festival are executives of the same kind of company. In other words, he knows the time and money involved in staging the one-day event, which every January showcases the works of living Canadian and international composers. The festival is a labour of love for Tupper, who is also president of de Munnier Ltd. That money is supplemented by such public agencies as the federal department of heritage and the Canada Council, and by private companies, most generously the Munnier Ltd.'s own shareholders. Tupper has been at the helm since 1971. Last week, so Health Minister Diane Marleau awarded a second Munnier for new ideas. Regardless, the future of the Munnier Ltd.'s New Music Festival is secure. "I don't think that Tupper ever worried," the bottom line is. If de Munnier Ltd. is liquidated out of spite, there is no more festival," said Tupper. "If de Munnier goes into liquidation it is more a loss for the country than for the festival. And if it goes into liquidation it is more a loss for the country than for the festival."

These days, tobacco sponsorship is woven into Canada's cultural fabric. Together, the top three companies—Rothmans Benson & Hedges Inc., 380 Macdonald Inc. and Imperial Tobacco Ltd.—donate \$50 million to arts and sporting events every year. It is, advocates say, a win-win relationship: cultural organizations get much-needed funds, while the companies remain visible despite a seven-year-old ban on tobacco advertising. When Jacques

Yllosova was the Indianapolis 500 last May, for instance, he did it wearing the blue-and-white colors of Player's Ltd., a sponsorship company owned by Imperial Tobacco. But there are losers, say anti-smoking groups who charge that sponsorship too often serves as advertising for products that kill more than 40,000 Canadians every year.

On a budget that on tobacco company sponsorships. The document, to be discussed in public meetings next February before introduction of a bill in the Commons, is an assessment of the response to the Supreme Court of Canada, which ruled last September that much of the Tobacco Products Control Act was unconstitutional. The blueprint suggests a number of anti-smoking new stunts, including a complete ban on tobacco advertising and "ground rules" on sponsorship deals. Those rules, while still vague, may mean the end of the pool-of-use deal tied to events, and a requirement that promotional material carry health warnings.

create their image," says Galland. "They've got to attract new smokers—they've got to replace the 100,000 people who die every day from smoking." Tobacco industry representatives deny these charges. Sponsorship, says Marie-Josée Lapointe, communications director of the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council, is a way of "maintaining a warrent of corporate identity"—not having new smokers. "If Air Canada sponsors a film festival," she adds, "do you get a sudden stop in buying

ports and draw national fire

should outlaw it," says Missou. "On the revenue side of things, it seems quite happy about tobacco taxes." Tipper points out that a news conference last week for the du Maurier Ltd. New Music Festival began with greetings from federal Heritage Minister Michel Duguay—"the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing," Tipper says. And Kelly notes another irony—that the Liberal Party of Canada has no structures itself about accepting donations from tobacco companies.

JHE CHINESE



Maclean's celebrates 90 years of telling the intriguing story of Canada

BY CARL MOLINS

The oldest magazine in a new feature titled "What Men of Note Are Saying," quoted a *Maclean's* fore-cast by Earl Grey. Whomever he went walking in Ottawa, and Canada's governor general, he was called by the nation that "I am treading on old which, before the end of the present century, will carry the capital city of a nation of 80 millions." The earl can be forgiven his exaggerated prophecy, as can the young magazine for reporting it without quibble when the people too numbered barely six million. At the time, midway through the century's first decade, the outlook in Canada was all about growth and change. In 1905, 10 new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan—proving them at one that quagmired their populations in 80 years—peered Confederation. The same year, motor cars began transforming commerce, work and leisure. Average annual pay scales more than doubled in the first five years of the 1900s, approaching \$1,000. Declared Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier: "The 20th century belongs to Canada."

The secret on growth and change that attended Maclean's at its birth has been a feature of its life ever since. As Canada's population multiplied by five, the magazine's circulation grew a hundredfold from the inaugural 5,000 copies distributed in October, 1905. Its shape waned and waxed, from pocketbook to side-table to sit-behind. Its frequency fluctuated from a churn to 51 issues a year. Its command price

HISTORY

ECHOES OF THE PAST



went from the cost of a nickel (often to three or more cents, its mandated price) from an original pair of names—lawyer John Boyer Maclean and one assistant—to settle into the low 90s in the displaced 1990s.

Then it all changed. It was *The Dominion Magazine* for its first two numbers, then *The Star* and *Maclean's* Magazine, and, from 1911, *Maclean's* (it, strongly at times, *Maclean's*). But even as it kept pace with new trends and technologies, the journal showed a certain resistance to change. During 10 dynamic Canadian decades, *Maclean's* turned back and again to theories and controversies that shaped the life of the last growing and often fractious nation.

Leading back and forth through more than 2,000 issues of the magazine, a reader is struck by the way that the main things change, the fewer they were the same—in bilingual Canada. John's change, John's to solve change.

There are feminist causes, from women in the workplace and the fight for the right to vote to the corporate glass ceiling and the parity of women in Parliament. Nellie McClung wrote in 1905 that women could use the franchise to promote, among other causes, "motherly persons." Federal Family Allowances, three decades later, provided more controversy in *Maclean's*.

Down the years, writers wrote eloquent over *Guelph* and hockey and the plight of fugitives in two world wars, in Spain, Korea and, for a UN peace, around the globe. *Maclean's* writer George Easton Pearson reported in 1915 from Prince, where he served with the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry and was later wounded. "A change of face is noticeable in men, and out of all the men who have borne the strain of this trench fighting month after month. Young men have become old men, aged years in weeks. Talkative men have become quiet. No more is 'tipperary' heard—never in this land." Almost precisely 80 years later, *Maclean's* noted the Patricia's completion of a 100-year tour of duty in dangerous Bosnia.

There are outback ballads, from half-baked boots to repulsive bairns, kids and wheat collars, shivering and

long-short in shorts. Immigration provides repeated argument, relations between races provide personal drama and despair. And, usually always and over, there are the suburbs, sectional grievances—West versus East, Quebec

In 1916, French-language teaching in elementary schools across in a hot issue in Ontario, caught Quebec's attention and evolved into a federal issue. Thomas Crutcher, one of the earliest in a long line of distinguished *Maclean's* editors and later a renowned historical novelist, proposed to run a scholarly piece on the controversy. He did, but only after overcoming opposition from publisher John Maclean on the ground that "the average reader will turn from it as uninteresting but his heart too much about." The French-English divide, the place of Quebec made as outside Confederation—and *Maclean's* long-on concerns about boring the reader—has fostered debate long after word in story meetings at the magazine, as it assuredly will in the future.

The scope of the drug trade in *Maclean's* as recent news. Emily Murphy, one of an early network of women journalists who wrote for *Maclean's*, investigated the proliferation of drug business in 1929. In reports that created a national sensation, she described a visit to an opium den in Vancouver, singled out Montreal as Canada's stimulating capital, reported the marketing of drugs to city children and tracked the explosive growth of opium. That included a staggering expansion in the distribution of cocaine, the drug of choice then, needing no pipes or hypodermics to inject.

Murphy's repertoire demonstrates one post-World War I difference about *Maclean's*, and journals in general. Her expose on drug use ran as a book-length, 10-part serial as the then twice-weekly magazine. In contrast to the TV-induced short hits and brief attention spans of nowadays, started in recently as 25 years ago ran on for page after page of dense print. A gripping June Colwood account of Marjorie Hill retaining the wealth of *L'Espresso* in 1964. Hill's never wavered of the large-format.

Maclean's A short story by Gabrielle Roy ran for four big pages, another by Morley Callaghan packed five pages with type.

Since its transformation in 1976 to a weekly format, *Maclean's* has become tighter and leaner. And, apparently, peacetime, not less.

printing and black-and-white graphics have given way to computers and color. Despite the resulting spectacular possibilities and efficiencies, a problem remains—crawling deadlines.

Looking back to the 19th century, *Maclean's* and *Maclean's* Luskack, on a columnist 80 years ago, he found the *Maclean's* University columnist and *Maclean's* humorist often corresponded to the imperious of periodical publishing. Luskack dropped all his first piece later, and in almost indecipherable handwriting. After the years of that lusty, Crotkin complained in a memo to *Maclean's*: "I sometimes have to write him four or the times before I can get an answer out of him."

New, with apologies to the editor who has called two or three times, this piece is delivered a week later than promised. But, really, there were 30 years of journals to review, a host of brilliant writers to read a person. And there are no exalted prophecies here in the primer of Earl Grey. Just that *Maclean's* will go on for at least another 90. Plus or change, plus it's the future change.



90 A 20TH-CENTURY CHRONICLE

From Quebec to hockey, from television to taxes, erpts from Maclean's past still resonate in the 1990s

Quebec City aftermath— a Confederation crisis in 1965

By Blair Power (December 2, 1964)

Maclean's Ottawa Editor Blair Power travelled to Quebec City just weeks after thousands of separatist rioters during the Queen's visit to the city.

Some time in 1965, Canada's "crisis of Confederation" will begin to come to a head. Quebec wants to change the constitution, and that is new. Always as the past Quebec has led the resistance to change, jealously guarded its power of veto, feared all encroachments by Ottawa and the English-Canadian majority. Now it's the French-Canadian who want to use the new powers of amendment in Canada, and construct a new basis for confederation.

To succeed they will need resources, good will, assistance sympathetic, maximum generosity from the rest of Canada. Even the separatists count heavily on English-Canadian sympathies. They don't always seem to be aware of this fact, but their argument and plans quite clearly include it.

In Quebec City not long ago I had lunch with an old friend, a man I have known for twenty years, who is now a kind of philosophical separatist. He doesn't belong to *Ministère pour l'Indépendance* or any other separatist organization, nor has he any personal feelings for the rest of Canada (most of his best friends, he might say, are English-speaking), but he thinks the separation from Canada of an independent Quebec is the logical inevitable end of an historical process that began two centuries ago.

The more he explained, the clearer it became that he considered Quebec to retain the advantages and conveniences of Confederation as long as seemed desirable, discarding them at Quebec's own choice whenever they ceased to be useful.

"What makes you think you could have a common currency with the rest of Canada?" I asked him. "Why should other provinces undertake to guarantee your money?"

"After a pause, he answered, "That is a question for the second stage of Quebec's independence. There is no reason to postpone the first stage until all questions of the second stage are answered."

Nevertheless, he looked a bit thoughtful. Apparently it had not occurred to him before that a newly independent Quebec might not be able to count on Canadian help.



The French Revolution, Quebec 1961

By Peter C. Newman (April 30, 1961)

Premier Jean Lesage and his young turks were looking up the two-century-old cart of chaos and state that had ruled Quebec.

There is no longer racial anger; it is nothing less than an earnest challenge to this country's English-speaking citizens to compete, or be satisfied with a secondary position.

With this new spirit of freedom has come a wave of popular protest against old-line Quebec politicians for failing to lead the province into the twentieth century. "It was a waste of time for our politicians to teach us to spit on the English," says Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the leader of *Club Libre*, a Montreal journal whose burgeoning following closely reflects the new mood in Quebec. "It's not the fault of the English that we're a backward province. We're responsible for our own mess. But from now on, we'll contribute more than inhibitions to the Canadian federation."

Many of Lesage's ministers—particularly René Lévesque and Georges Lapointe—can sit back and think, with a great deal of justification, that Lesage would never have gained power without them. Lévesque, who was Quebec's most popular televi-

A noisy rally in Quebec City. *Libération*: "I'm on the far left!"



Reformers, 1960 and 1961, and the



sion commentator before he took up politics, is the rallying point for most of the young idealists who voted for Lesage. He was so hated by the Union Nationale that they proposed if elected to set up a provincial broadcasting network in order to counter his influence. He's been spearheading the Liberal anti-spoils drive in the job as minister of public works and now of natural resources. "The ideology of the Liberal party is historically neo-unionist," he snarled when I saw him in his office. "We're starting from an ambiguous base, with a wide range of opinions in cabinet. I'm on the far left, of course. If the government does not reflect the views of the left, it won't be here long."

one of those laughing, open-faced, blurred little pictures one so often sees of children. But if a snap was taken, nobody knows where it is now. There are five police pictures of Charlie, though. They are large—10 prints, grey and underexposed, showing the 5'11, crumpled little body of a 19-year-old boy with a sharp-featured face. He is lying on his back and his thin cotton clothing is shabbily soaked. His feet, crossed in middle-high leather boots, are oddly turned upward. In one of the photographs, an Ontario Provincial Police sergeant is pointing down at Charlie's body, where it lies beside the

CNR track. It is the exact spot where on the night of October 22 Charlie collapsed and died from exposure and hunger, just one mile-and-a-half from the trains that carry the white world by its warm and well-lit comfort. When they found Charlie, he didn't have any identification. All they got out of his pockets was a little glass jar with a screw top. Inside were half a dozen wooden matches. They were all dry. And that's all he had.

Charlie Wenjack was an Ojibway Indian attending Cecilia Jeffrey

The lonely death of Charlie Wenjack

By Ian Adams (February, 1967)

Little young native people today. Charlie Wenjack was lost in the white man's world.

Charlie Wenjack would have been 13 years old on January 15, and it's possible that during his short and disturbed life someone may have taken a snapshot of him—

Infant Residential School in Kenora, Ont. He became lonely and ran away. He died trying to walk 400 miles home to his father, who lives and works on an isolated reservation in Northern Ontario. It is unlikely that Charlie ever understood why he had to go to school and why it had to be such a long way from home. It is even doubtful if his father really understood either.



Leaving the coast prejudice

WHY B.C. DRAWS THE COLOR LINE

By Jack Scott (February 1, 1948)

In 1942, the Canadian government relocated 23,000 Japanese-Canadians, most of whom lived in British Columbia. In detention camps outside the frontier for the duration of the Second World War. In 1948, the government finally—and only partially—relocated the remaining victims.

A young Japanese-Canadian, travelling on an RCMP permit from Alberta, returned west recently to visit his grandparents, the town of Stoverton at the mouth of the Fraser River.

Before the war, Stoverton, a short train ride east of Vancouver, was a village of Japanese fishermen. Today its population is almost entirely white, most of them using the expensive Edmonds and the Westcott cottages once owned by the Japanese.

The young Nisei visitor's pilgrim age was short and unhappy. An enter-

and "bilingual" of whites suggested politely but firmly, that it would be healthier to cut the visit short. The suite was left torn by the next outbound train.

Such outward evidence of race loathing against Japanese-Canadians in the British Columbia coastal area in recent days. Most white citizens, whether pro- or anti-Japanese, regard it as a dead issue. They don't expect any trouble ahead when said if the gates are finally lowered.

This does not represent any triumph of conscience over prejudice or any cooling in the wartime fever against 15,000 fellow citizens. It is simply that the

problem was moved away the years ago. Few expect it to move back.

The happy conviction that the Federal Government's dispersal plan is now permanent—that the Japanese are settled and content across Canada and will never dare return to the scene of hostilities—has grown steadily in recent months.

More than a year ago a Vancouver radio station's public opinion poll asked its listeners: "Do you think the Japanese will return to the Coast?" Yes, said 54.7% of the listeners, they'd be back. A few weeks ago the same question was asked again. This time 72.5% said no, the Japanese would never return.



As this man the next president of the United States?

In 1967, 13 years early, Maclean's saw Ronald Reagan in the White House



The bombers blazed a short cut to victory

By I. S. B. Shapiro
(June 1, 1992)

A Maclean's correspondent standing amid the ruins of Germany reflects on the tragedy of war

In Germany (By cable)—The complete collapse of a great nation is a desolate thing to behold. Even though it has been your hated enemy for five years, even though its leaders and its great majority of its people have been objects of your loathing for 12 years, even though your nerves have been chilled by the barbarities of its concentration camps, and you have watched when you looked upon the evidence of German brutality and perspicacious barbarism visited upon its victims, the collapse of a nation of 80 million, once considered civilized, is still a desolate experience.

I am writing this by the window of a rural school building on the Hamburg road. For five hours, Germany, broken and patchy, has been passing in review before my eyes. Generals, admirals and rank-and-file soldiers and sailors are shuffling along the road and along each passing British vehicle where they can surrender. Thousands of old men, women and children are wandering in search of rest, food and shelter. Their eyes have a glazed look of utter hopelessness.

Their lives have been shattered and their futures are dark as the clouds out of which a cold police rain is adding nature's ironic garland to their shorn adversity. Behind them is the fantastic ruin of what was once the most orderly country in Europe, shield of

them by arms and soil, humiliation and just punishment. They lie at their own lives in the most colossal abracadabra in all of history, now their Germany is dead and his tracks have dug with this, leaving only emptiness.

There is no pity in my heart for these people. There were too many of our graves that have the long weeping road from Africa to the Tiber, I have felt too much of the colossal tragedy for which they, individually and collectively, are responsible.

When I see a 70-year-old woman and two 10-year-old children dragging a cart through the rain, I remind myself of the broken bodies of the 52 British schoolchildren we dragged from the rubble of a German bomb-bombardment a year ago. When I see a grey-haired German naval captain sitting in the deck and crying like a baby, I am not sorry. I think of the thousands tossed into the death houses of Mauthausen and Lublin. When I look upon these thousands of German civilians wandering in the hollow halls of their great destruction, I picture those same people in the summer of 1940, laughing at the plight of the world and "hooting" and "howling" with extreme jubilation and my heart will not open itself to their sorrow.

Yet one feels a great deal of sympathy within himself—not because Germany is ruined, but because this whole pitiful episode constitutes such a blot upon our alleged civilization. Humanity in our time must have been sadly lacking in fundamental qualities that a nation of 80 millions in the heart of Europe must be virtually destroyed in order to cleanse the Western World.

This episode in the war is too painful for our troops to be obliterated. There is no losing of caps in the air. The feeling of grim tragedy which pervades this chaos is not confined to the Germans. We don't hold a cup party at an execution, so neither how just or necessary it was.



Charles: born to reign but groomed to fail?

By Alan Edmunds (March, 1987)

Twenty-eight years ago, Prince Charles was entering college, but even then many Canadians wondered if he would become the right man for the job of king

The tragedy of the boy born to be King of the United Kingdom, Canada and The Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth and Defender of the Faith, is that he is not the son his father would have liked him to be. And as H.R.H. Charles Philip Arthur George, Prince of Wales and heir to the throne, has thus far been groomed for the crown in a manner that many consider absurdly unsuitable for the age in which he must ascend—a manner demonstrably not the least of guaranteeing a boy of his temperament is likely to enjoy.

Philip, the father, is an introvert, a man of action, somewhat of an introvert, peaceful and demanding. In many ways he is the kind of man blood of the British royal House of Windsor perfected. His eldest son Charles is—as far as we can determine on available evidence—an introvert, a dreamer, a lover of academics and self-indulgent luxury who will probably grow to be like his shy but decorated grandfather, George VI. Prince Philip, for instance, once deliberately caused great photographs with a golden hose, then followed with laughter. But when, during a school fee-fairing demonstration, Prince Charles apologetically unfolded the best-of-the-best only, said you—a of a photographer, he shared and apologized "Oops—I am sorry."

Through chaos in the armor of protocol that nurtured his royalty, Prince Charles emerges as a boy groomed to manhood—a 16 now—suffering from conflicts set up by an upbringing consistently at war with his inclinations. It would seem that Philip is harder on him now than he was most fathers. That Charles say the danger of becoming slightly autistic by constantly trying to meet a set of standards arbitrarily set by a parent to whom the child is an extension of self, of ego. All that would be serious enough at any time, as any boy. But in the age of rampant innovation and change, the fact that Charles is not his father's son or the sense that they are totally unlike each other could change the structure of Britain, of Canada, of the rest of the Commonwealth.

Britain is now confronted with a social revolution the gains aim of which seems to be to free the country from the clanking edicts of tradition maintained for its own sake. It is to claim the very need for any sort of monarchy is being openly questioned, albeit as the alarmingly ill-fated grounds that the system is traditional and, therefore, viable. Even so, it needs no clairvoyance to predict that, if the world survives long enough, the monarchy will last until Queen Elizabeth's lifetime, and that thereafter the survival of the monarchy will depend on King Charles II.

CHINA—A Canadian Eldorado?

By John Arncliffe (May 1, 1980)

Even in the 1980s, China seemed a land of opportunity to Canadian businessmen.

Many centuries before Canada was discovered, the nations of the earth were in for the trade of China. Men gave their lives, died horrible deaths in every bloody battle was waged by those seeking the wealth to be had from lucrative trade with that ancient China which fought them off with cannon, sword and spear, thereby determined to keep at a distance the detested "barbarians," the "foreign devils."

Today, the new China, risen phoenix-like from the ashes of superstition and indifference stands beckoning to the nations and is in Canada, in this young nation, before all others that the renowned China Club. For Canada has the composition which China requires in the rebuilding of a nation, the rehabilitation of 400,000,000 people.

Geographically, no other nation is so favorably situated as Canada to help in that reconstruction, and to gather in the riches which China, for the first time in 4,000 years, freely offers. While Canada is content to gather the neglected crumbs from the feast, or will be if she is not the privileged guests?

Envision, if you can, this Canada of ours, should it open its doors to the Chinese, to help all our citizens, to help all our cities and rebuild them, to place new rolling stock on our railways, to replace all our automobiles, to re-equip our offices, to re-equip our methods of agriculture, to replace all the machinery in our factories, in

a world, to reconstruct Canada's whole civilization. Harnag realized that, amazingly the vision by Jerry, and you have an idea of what will happen in China during the next couple of decades—a revolution such as this world has not seen, and one which is even now under way. Here is no secret, no planning scheme, but the resulting of a nation four times as large as the United States.



Montreal during the Depression: gloomy

THE CHALLENGE

By Leslie Brook (November 15, 1933)

A young man reflects on the agony of the Great Depression.

Although most of us young unemployed people are fortunate enough to have a home where we are provided with food and shelter, there are many other demands which our parents with their depleted depression incomes cannot cope with. Many of us have not been in the streets for the past three years. We can't afford it. When our teeth begin to ache and it is no longer possible to hear the pin, we shall have to go and pray that we may find the money on the way in the streets. By that time it will likely mean starvation—a loss we can never replace. Our clothes are threadbare and fast approaching that state when we will hardly be presentable to apply for a job. We have had to forego many of the pleasures we have been accustomed to—not as much things for youth to do and not a desirable one. These are only a few of the everyday problems that start with the morning and continue to run well into the night, but despite their exigency we are more concerned with another problem, a problem more far-reaching in importance and bearing greater influence on our future—our future. This is the question that is causing solemn, pensive, bewildered looks on faces that were and should still be bright and smiling:



The hectic scramble for the class of '59

By Eric Hutton (April 25, 1969)

Today's job market is tight, but university graduates in the 1959 class were wooed by hundreds of firms on campus recruitment drives.

Earlier this year, three hundred representatives of more than a hundred Canadian employers and a few from the United States swarmed over the University of Toronto campus in the most concentrated talent hunt ever held in North America. They quarry was the five hundred young men (plus a handful of women) who will graduate in engineering and science next month. For three hectic days, from early morning to late afternoon, the final-year students deployed through five university buildings to negotiate and be interviewed in intensive half-hour interviews by as many as ten employers each. For these ex-

plimentary encounters with future bosses, the traditionally casual engineers were neckties, polished shoes and trousers that often matched coats—an innovation that caused one startled professor to peer at students he had been lecturing all year and enquire: "Who are these people?"

Some of the more enterprising engineers took further steps to attract candidates. They brought advertising brochures to the campus newspaper during the final-year engineering and science students to enquire for interviews with them. Appointment sheets were laid out on a long table in the campus building, and the students were turned loose on their University Place

recruit Director Kenneth Brinkley suggested that eight interviews per student might be a manageable schedule, more narrowed the choice of employers down to three or four, others registered for a dozen or more interviews.

When the bubble of three thousand interviews had subsided, when each company's favored candidate had been re-interviewed and tested by an assortment of questionnaires, when job offers had been made and accepted or rejected, the university's placement bureau could fit students score: seven eighths of the graduating class had jobs even before they laid diplomas, at an average salary of about four hundred dollars a month.



At its best, the CBC 'expands and lifts the nation'

\$10,000: Forty-ninadays for taxes

By M. Gordon O'Leary (February 15, 1968)

Ten Fiftieth Day—when the average Canadian finally catches working evenly to pay his taxes—now comes on Jan. 10. That is a far cry from the complexities of 1930.

On January 1, 1930, the old year was left behind, a pamphlet read, injected, cut into oblivion. Canadians on that day made new resolutions. Many vowed to forget the stock market, to stop working for "bills" and "loans," to start on the diet of the New Year to work twelve months for themselves. But they won't. They won't work twelve months for themselves. They won't start working for themselves until the morning of February 19. Until that time they will work for Jack L. Carrick, for the State. They will work twenty-four days for the Dominion, fourteen days for the provinces, eight days for the provinces. Not until February 19 will they own a copper for themselves.

Fanciful? Absurd? Well—figure it out for yourself. Canada has 3,200,000 persons drawing wages, salaries, incomes. Those salaries, wages, incomes total \$5,300,000,000 a year. Out of that \$5,100,000,000, there go in taxes, Dominion, municipal, provincial, \$667,337,657. Thirteen and a half per cent of the whole. Just take a pencil and paper and make your own calculation. The average income of Canadians who are partially employed, to use the statisticians phrase, is \$1,590 a year.

Out of this Jack Carrick takes \$214. The Dominion takes \$115, the municipalities \$64, the provinces \$36. The total share of the Dominion is \$369,496,968, the municipal is \$302,436,644; the provincial \$115,494,110. The grand total, as already noted, is \$667,337,657.

There is nothing fancy about

Not until the twenty-seventh day is well under way are they finished paying every dollar they owe to the Dominion treasury.

Once clear of the Dominion they fall into the grip of the municipal palates. They toil along through the balance of January and on through the grey opening days of February, paying everything into the municipal treasuries. Not until the night of February 19 have they satisfied municipal requirements.

Then come the provinces. Not quite as exacting as the Dominion and the



that. Out of every dollar earned—and these figures are from the Government's own official statisticians—the Canadian man or woman who works pays thirteen and a half cents as a tax. They work exactly forty-nine days of every year for the State.

Beginning January 1, wage-earners and salaried people surrender their entire earnings for the first twenty-six days of the month to the Receiver-General at Ottawa,

municipalities, the provinces place a percentage upon the wages of all workers for the past eight days.

Not done until the morning of February 19 does the Canadian get up and begin to work for himself or herself. Only then can they make a start toward recovering the lost ground of January and February, toward liquidating accumulated accounts making it possible to pay by a tickle.

The thing is unchangeable.

THE BIG HEAT ON THE CBC



By Ralph Allen (February 9, 1963)

On the 25th anniversary of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., its quality—and its future—were already matters of heated debate.

The CBC was meant to be, and in its happiest moments has succeeded in being, the strongest single voice of Canada's northward. When it's performing well, it expands and lifts the nation and affirms its identity as does no other force in our daily life. At its best the CBC can put a priceless mixture of sights and sounds within the viewing or hearing range of at least many five Canadians out of every hundred—best, well-reported news, first-rate documentaries, pretty singing girls, pretty dancing girls, laced commentators and knock-out debates on our past, present and future in a thousand words from the British North American Act to teenage sex. At worst it offers scathing satire that either cut lines from objectivity and accuracy in the news, cliché-ridden or embarrassingly "daring" plays, badly written, badly directed and badly acted by any standards, spectacularly ordinary variety artists, masters of ceremony and "personals," awkward pundits striding across a stage of Westerns, westerns and fired situation comedies from the big U.S. networks.

So far as the vast majority of its audience is concerned, it's of small consequence who owns or bosses broadcasting in Canada or how the various pieces of the total apparatus

rates are fitted together. The thing they're interested in is what their recording tells about their behavior, everything else seems like a side issue.

But in fact there are no side issues in Canadian broadcasting. Every infomercial—political, economic or informational—that comes to be on any part of it is as central as bear in some dramas on the program. And as of now all these "accidental" factors are working together not only to challenge the nature of the CBC but, quite possibly its existence.



that were here is pured out before your eyes, knocking up and breaking the glass with its coldness. Then a latent lifts it up and moves it toward the camera. The glass seems to be coming right out of the screen at you. As though pinned at your lips, it tips up slowly and the viewer looks out into some unseen place. "Oh, says the audience "Aaaaah." That's impact."

This growth and power of the new industry is either life or horrible, depending on where you stand. Boston University President Daniel Marsh states that "if the screen was once continuous with the present line of progress, we are destined to have a nation of morons." But a school principal in Maryland decided that TV has less families cause tagline reduced street accidents to children, improved adolescent behavior, and cut down on "life common too."

Many sports managers have good reason to fear TV, as a spike of the pay-per-view TV appears make for rights to televise events. For one thing, a big sports event with an empty arena just doesn't have the right atmosphere. For another



'If the TV craze continues, we are destined to have a nation of morons'



been U.S. political candidates are having to face the cameras day after day and be exposed publicly. The live rating situation is a problem used to hand out to the President's enough, in roundtable discussions and unorchestrated debates, the man will reveal his real self. On the other hand, there is always the danger that a spin doctor and his chamber will have vastly greater chances to influence new millions of listeners.

The boys are still crowded but, as one New York broadcaster said the other day "Things has gone to hell at a sudden. The more times they come in here and name a 30-second spot for an hour while they watch Mike Rose. They fill up the beer, but they don't buy beer. This television, it's ruins' my place. The goal' to free it out, you watch if I do."

Canada has a 'movie' future

By Allan Dwan
(February 1, 1993)

Director Allan Dwan, a Toronto man who worked in Hollywood with legendary actors Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, predicted that the Canadian film industry would soon blossom.



I went a few lines back that when I was placed at the head of my own production, I had reached my ambition. That is not exactly true. To be perfectly frank with you, I have another ambition: and that is to go home, back to Canada, and make some big pictures there. I am still—always will be—a Canadian, never having given my allegiance to any other country.

Pickford's speeded actors

I have wanted to use Canada as a motion picture center for years, and one day I came to have my desire fulfilled, in spite of a decided obstacle, which was my way. A good many people, realizing the glorious history of the Dominion, have asked why there is no motion picture industry in Canada. The trouble is, the duty, going either way, is too high.

I know of at least a dozen motion picture directors who feel as I do, about the worth of Canadian scenery, and the severity of import and export duties—but quite so leniently of course, because they are not true Canadians. My idea is that the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Government could make more or less of an investment in the motion picture producers to use Canadian scenery. If they would make it agreeable to us, we could bring in a great deal of money. The motion picture industry got 500,000,000 in California on the way, and it would build up locations in Canada the same way.

Why, I could do the best movie I ever put on if I could work around Lake Louise, or Banff, Montreal and Quebec over the best back grounds on this side of the ocean. They have been used, but not as often as they deserve. Many a time I have looked up at the buildings on top of the Mt. Algonquin, and thought what a wonderful location it would be for the story of a mythical kingdom.

And there are dozens, possibly hundreds, of splendid film actors, who have come out of Canada. Mary Pickford, of course, leads the list, and John Arthur in an actress who has enhanced the value of the film. Al Christie, and Mack Sennett, both masters of comedy, are Canadians, as is Robert Barrer, Barbara Castleman and Raymond Hatton. These are only a few who come to my mind—there are others.

Canada discovers its 'Thing'

By George Jones (August, 1973)

*Margaret Atwood in the 1970s was denying Canada's premier literary celebrity—a status she gained with *Lover and a Sense of Loss*.*

Atwood and again Margaret Atwood told us that we didn't have to take the best with the good. "The accusations and the facts in this book," she said in her preface to the most part contributed by others: the sloppy generalizations are my own. Addressing the English Club in Toronto recently she called her book a "rather modest literary endeavor." Published 10 years ago, no one would have noticed it.

But so it happened, *Survival* was published in 1972 and everywhere noticed it. Within a few months its appearance was given by *Globe and Mail* critic William French called it the book of the year. Others who like it thought, the young and the old could be known to each other, across the divide. There were discussions, such as poet Peter Stevens writing in the *Wind* as Sir in Toronto, noted that Marley Calhoun permitted himself a line of words. Margaret Atwood herself appeared pleasantly amazed. "I have become a 'Thing,'" she told her audience at the English Club.

What actually happened was that Margaret Atwood, 38, poet, novelist, winner of the Governor General's Award for poetry in 1966, an editor of the small Canadian publishing house Anansi, decided to write a thematic guide to Canadian literature. She advanced the thesis that writers, especially novelists, are somewhat influenced by the country and culture environment in which they work and that their works in turn tend to reflect this influence. We accept the proposition that certain works of art are Very English or Very Russian. The *Canadianism* of Canadian art, according to Ms. Atwood, consists of Victims being concerned with survival. Our enemies may be nature or colonialism, but we are all victims trying to survive.



Atwood, trying to survive

SWEET SONGS OF SUCCESS

By Jack Halton (August 21, 1993)

By the 1960s, Canadian folk singers Ron and Sylvia Tyson had become one of the hottest acts on the continent. But after a night on the duo's last summer night in New York City's Greenwich Village.

The second number they sang at their second act in the Cold War era in Song For Canada. I experienced my second patriotic twinge of the evening. The melody of Song For Canada, which Tyson wrote, is lovely. The lyrics, which the Toronto journalist Peter Gosselin wrote, are urgent and convincing. The song suggests that an English Canadian is talking to a French

What TV will do to you

By Don Magill (March 1, 1993)

Rhian Imitation arrived in Canada in the early 1990s, no one seemed to know what to expect.

There's no doubt that when television finally does open its Canada—the first station is due to open this fall—it is going to make changes in your way of life. Whether the changes will be swift and sweeping (as in the U.S.) or slow and modest (as in Britain) depends largely on what kind of TV we get. At the time of writing it seems that the CBC will okay a compromise between the two options.

Perhaps 25,000 Canadian homes near the U.S. border already have TV sets, and their owners and their families getting sick of watching in black and white. But there's even a set in Alberta (yes, 3400) where reception would be limited to about 25 minutes every two months. That if the growth of TV in Canada paralleled that of the U.S., two out of every three homes might have a TV set by 1996.

The combination of watching and listening is called "impact" by advertisers. A radio announcer can say the phrase of a glass of cold beer in caption tones. But on TV

or thing, Maclean's managers believe that although major-league games haven't sold out yet, people are staying away from the minor league games in droves to watch the big games on television. Not without the minor leagues, the whole recruiting system in which the sport is based will collapse.

It is in your private home life that TV can have its greatest effect, however. When the University of Southern California asked questions of 800 families, many a wife reported a new source of annoyance: her husband no longer would take her out at night, but preferred to stay at home and watch the set. On the other hand, the parents were definitely benefiting the family together at the dinner table. "But not even usually in a two-to-one relation." Though people sit in the same room, they scarcely see or speak to each other the report said.

What unexcited TV could do to your children is worth thinking about. A teacher in Montreal, Mass., writes that since her pupils have "learned" TV they are increasingly gay conscious (many children's programs in the U.S. consist of warmed-over westerns now). They are drastically fired and paid from too much watching. "They have no sense of values, no feeling of wonder, no sustained interest," she complains.

The bans of old-fashioned democracy was the town meeting, where people got to see and hear each other. That isn't possible today, but TV brings it a little closer than it has



Ian and Sylvia: 'I will share the music with you'

Canada, and it expresses, accordingly, the English Canadians' slightly baffled, slightly hurt reaction to the new attitude of the Québécois.

*How come we can't talk to each other any more?
Why can't you see I'm changing too?
We've got to live too long to end it feeling young.
And I still share too much with you
Why can't you understand I'm glad you're standing proud?
I know you made it on your own,
Just as this pride you've earned,
I thought you might have learned
That you don't have to stand alone.*

(Copyright: H. Warner & Son)

"We're using *Song For Canada* in Canada love tunes and we've got our very worst reactions," Ian explains, back at *The Dagons*. His cousin Julian, Walker with a

menet of irony, Sylvia has a glass of Chablis. "The first time was last winter at Mosley Hall in Toronto. I introduced it wrong and gave the impression that the song was a kind of Spring Thaw satire. The audience laughed at first, but then they listened and by the end they were taking it very seriously. We sang it at the University of Ottawa where the kids were half English and half French and afterward the French kids came on very strong. They told us, 'Thanks, but you're five years too late.' The audience at McGill were all English and they had to be the sparser audience

we've ever played. I came away figuring that a lot of the trouble in Quebec is that all the hip people of Montreal are French. We sang the same at a Liberal Party dinner in Toronto and the odds came there were *puasés*. Man, they didn't know how to react. They kept looking at Lester and he kept looking at his watch."

Can a woman raise a family and have a career?

By Nellie L. McClung
(February 15, 1928)

Canada's pioneering supporters helped lead the crusade that would see women enter roles in the workforce.

In reply to the question "Can a Woman raise a Family and have a Career?" then I say, wholeheartedly, YES.

A woman can do other things while raising her family, and she finally need not suffer, but she must have harmony at home. A woman can do many things, if she has love and loyalty, and I have had those in abundant measure in my own home and in my own family in all its branches, mother, brothers, sisters, aunts and nephews. When I am home, after a campaign, whether I came "with my shield or not," I have been received joyously, and we have had great fun over it. No woman could grow bitter, even though defeated, when she has a family like mine.

I remember when the big political fight of 1903 was raging, and the *Telegraph*, now defunct, was running cartoons of me every day, my youngest boy, three years old, ran away one morning and we were alarmed over his disappearance. But before we had time to be greatly disturbed, his brother, aged eight, delivered him at the back door, breathless with joy at being safe home with the young deserter. "I got him, mother," he shouted. "It's all right, the *Telegraph* didn't see him, I wanted him up the nose."

We had the baby trained to see he was a self-sufficient child, unaccustomed and mechanically overruling the wise old cranks about dependent children. He was a job-checked little chap, with a face broad of yellow hair, and in his white suits was very good to look at where we went to Edmonton to live. My brother Will, who lived beside me, quite enjoyed the shock of surprise some of his friends received when they asked "Who is this fine child you have, Mr. Moosony?" to hear the fine child reply with profound gravity and a fine air of detachment, "I am a self-sufficient child—and never knew a mother's love."



Canadian women depend on 'luck' and 'flapjacks'



What price pulchritude?

By Kathleen Murphy (March 15, 1992)

A look at beauty trends discovered more than cosmetic differences between Canada and its southern neighbor.

The average Canadian woman spends \$338 a year on cosmetics, the American woman, \$523.22. Does this mean that the American woman needs \$8.95 more beauty assistance?
Or that the Canadian woman is content to be \$8.95 less attractive than her sister across the border?

I sailed north to seek the truth. Gallant

Mistree!, once Toronto... another, northward, would be the logical place to discover it. I took the night train to New York. I'd get the truth there.

"The reason," said the head of a large advertising agency whose accounts include several famous cosmetic manufacturers, "is that the Canadian woman is sure of herself. She is still, as I say, primitive. She depends on her good looks, her 'flapjacks,' her children and her luck to keep her sane. The American woman is forced into a more artificial life, and is consequently more dependent on artificial means to keep her man or get him. When Canada gets more cosmopolitan with the cosmetic 'bills passed.'"

'CAR CRAZINESS' A MENACE TO OUR TEENAGERS?

By Eric Hutton (June 6, 1993)

With almost 200,000 youngsters driving in the late 1950s, parents, teachers and police fretted that the automobile was undermining the morals and education of Canada's youth.

Most parents worry to some extent when their offspring are out in cars. Understandably, they worry about damage or injury to car and contents—steered levers, broken boxes, dead windshields. They worry, too, about what unchaperoned boys and girls may be up to, but the motoring teenager has become much more than a family problem.

In the past few years as youth at the wheel has become a major phenomenon of Canadian life, a lot of older people have become concerned about much wider implications they attach to the apparently simple act of a teenage boy driving a car.

Police view with alarm the truly gaudy record of teenagers as traffic hazards and accident causes. They also fear that the almost inevitable encounters with law-enforcement officers may tend to make teenagers, at that impressionable age, regard police as their natural enemies.

Many teachers regard teenagers' preoccupation with cars as a menace to their education. Scores of doctors, physical state or authorities and doctors deplore the absence of the automo-

Madcaps



In 1964, the Beatles shake up Vancouver



The Beatles' massive draw in previous public safety when four kids from Liverpool met Canada.



life on teenagers' apathy and even their health. Psychologists paint the gloomiest picture of all. Some of them warn that the teenager's rage, as the chief symbol of self-hating, may define him mentally, physically, spiritually and morally to the point where, like the enervating public baths of ancient Rome, it leads to the decline and fall of the nation.



GOING STEADY: Is it ruining our teenagers?

By Sidney Katz (January 5, 1998)

In the late '50s, parents worried that their kids were too young to be so serious about love.

It's the age-long battle between adolescents and their parents, but the two factions are now embroiled in what is perhaps their most lurid and contentious controversy.

The subject at issue is "going steady," a dating custom which made an enormous leap in popularity just after World War II and has now reached epidemic proportions among our youth. "Going steady" means that a boy and girl—usually in the twelve-to-seventeen-old age group—form a relationship which can best be described as a form of premarital monogamy. In lay terms (and in their jargon), they vow tacitly or in fact to be "faithful" to each other. They don't "cheat" by looking twice at, or going out with,

another member of the opposite sex. If they live apart each other, they walk to and from school together. They eat, study, play and go to dances and parties as a couple. They are, in master of fact, as inseparable as a husband and wife and their union is regarded as inviolable by their contemporaries.

Many parents are alarmed—especially if they have a daughter—by the claims that "something might happen."

They point to the inescapable law of nature that "biology plus propaganda equals infamy." They are appalled by a statement from a Roman Catholic theologian that "going steady is a premature actuation of sin—a situation from which we will almost inevitably re-act. It places too much strain on the moral fiber of the individual." Apart from the danger of an "accident," parents dread the possibility of their youngsters drifting into early marriage long before they are emotionally or socially prepared for it.

On another level, many parents object to going steady on the grounds that it has a stultifying effect on the social and intellectual growth of their offspring. One father told me, "It's a cut-and-dried, hatched-out affair. It has no excitement or freshness to it. They don't have any fun. At the age-old age of fifteen they're like a solid middle-aged married couple—the girl is bored and the boy is bored. It's a constricting and silly business all around."

Teenagers who bear the stigmata of going steady react to the parental outbursts in puzzlement and anger. "Why do they get so hysterical over going steady?" an attractive (thirteen-year-old) brunette asked me. "Most of the time I am innocent and kind—I get a good laugh out of them."



A 1967 fashion spread featuring a Canadian invention—the Velcro bikini



WHAT PRICE GOLF

By J. Herbert Hodgins (May 15, 1993)

Once an obscure pastime, golf has become big business in Canada by the mid-1920s.

My neighbor has broken out into golf! My family and I were having breakfast the other morning when "crash" went our curtain window. A shiny golf ball sped through the room and we all "clonked" with more speed this century.

I looked out upon the rambling spaces of my neighbor's garden. There he stood, stooged, a driver in mid-air—and over to exploded. He was taking a morning round in his own backyard. I was not so much surprised at the practice arrangement he had set up. Rather, it was the golf bags he wore that startled me. He was completely transformed from the man I am accustomed to behold sitting out for the after, as if he had been taken from the dimly lit window of his restaurant.

Then it was that I realized that, while clothes can't make the man, as the poet once remarked, they at least make the modern golfer.

"It used to be the driver the more desirable you looked, the bet-

ter golfer you were," said a veteran of the links to me the other day. "But now-a-days every man looks the part—even the professionals."

Start of the top-notch "pros" have several times the average income. Walter Hagen, for a while's estimation, has been known to change his costume every time he played. Nowadays golf begins not at the first tee but at the "locker/salon's". Which is just another way of making golf expensive.

There can be no glossing that more and more money is going into golf each year. Ralph H. Borell, editor of *Canadian Golfer*, claims with me the other day estimated that two million dollars will be spent for golf this year—on the general upkeep of properties, in fact, the purchase of balls, clubs and supplies, and the outfitting of the individual.

It seems like a good deal of cash for pastime. But there are those who will tell you that golf has been taken out of the sport category and been classified as a national industry. One hundred thousand Canadians have taken up golf, he estimated, and the golfer appears to over not a little what he pays out in the course of a season for his golf, it is distinctly conservative to set down a man's annual golf expenses at one hundred dollars.



The game of hockey was 'made for men with hair on their chests'

IT'S A TOUGH GAME

By Suzanne Claghorn (November 15, 1994)

In a pro career that began in 1918 and ended 35 years later, *Explosion* earned a reputation as one of hockey's most rugged players.

I don't know whether the present-day game is better than the old one, but I do know this: The old game was a darn sight tougher.

Everything about the old game was tougher than it is today. Players were tougher; rules were tougher; playing conditions were tougher; spectators were tougher; officials were tougher.

Don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting that the brand of hockey the boys will be playing the under no tough, because it is. All hockey is tough. When you get half a dozen bulky young athletes on razor-edged skates, hand them each a bladed hockey stick, and tell them to go out and mix things with half a dozen others equally bulky and similarly equipped, you're starting something that is as guttural for warring hockey under any conditions, controlled by any set of rules as the Geneva Peace Conference could devise, would still be a rough and tumble proposition, made for men with hair on their chests who know how to take it—and how to hand it out. To my mind that's what makes hockey the game it is, and that is why



hockey is today the one competitive sport grown up amazingly in public favor every year in every country in the world where it has so far been introduced.

But I stick to my statement that the hockey we were playing twenty-five years ago was a harder, more vigorous game than the hockey you and I will see this winter.

Movie Marcus: the sport of raffians?

Success can't spoil Bobby Orr— it worries him too much

By Stan Fleischer (February, 1990)

Last year, a grand jury in Boston indicted former NHL Player, Boston president Alan Eagleson on 22 counts of racketeering, fraud and embezzlement. That is his legacy, Eagleson—who was also an agent—and the complete start of the players, including their great Bobby Orr.

Or it was up at 11 a.m., and on the phone at 11:30 it was his lawyer, Alan Eagleson, calling from Toronto. Eagleson, founder of the NHL Players Association, helped negotiate Orr's contract and handles all his business. Orr owns a car wash, some land near Toronto, and owns a sport's camp near Orléans, Ont., with Mike



Walton of the Toronto Maple Leafs and co-lead trainer Bob MacGregor, after finishing the phone conversation, OTT made it clear who handles the business problems.

"Every once in a while I'll call and tell me he's bought something for me, and I'll say 'Al, that's great. Why not? We're sure close, and he's got a lot of money in my pocket'."



WILL CANADA EVER MAKE THE MAJORS?

By Trent Flayke (April 11, 1968)

Long before the *Expos* came to Montreal in 1969, before the *Blue Jays* came to Toronto in 1977, Canadian fans are already hawking in the on-ice crease of major-league baseball.

A television thirty-five on the morning of May 2, 1969, the commissioner of baseball, Ford Frick, admitted his fantasies in a hotel room in Toronto and he translated a front-page story for George Dalnake, a reporter for the Toronto Telegram.

"A fifth major league is as inevitable as



tomorrow," said Frick, on a morning run with a borrowed taxi and the tones of an ensemble. "Montreal is a major league city now and Toronto, with its Stadium ball, is getting there. The National League and the American League will expand to twelve teams each and out of these will emerge the third major league."

Nine years ago, this was revolutionary thinking. The major leagues hadn't altered their construction, or did caused changing it, in nearly fifty years, defying change through two world wars and a depression, ever since the American League had been formed in 1901. It was baseball news in this country because until that precise moment Canadians had regarded the big leagues as a segment of purely American culture, rather like the hot dog, and whenever worldly commentators the majors elected was usually confined to small boys with large scrapbooks or to a week in October each year during the World Series when people bought their radios for the blue-ribbon superlatives of the winners.

But since that precise moment, it has been an unusual summer month that somebody somewhere hasn't proclaimed that the major leagues are unalterably destined to embrace one or more Canadian cities. The fact that in the last six years five clubs have moved to new cities, none of them in Canada, has not dented speculation that a Canadian city will be next.

Montreal Royals manager Clay Bryant *contemplating a ball*
Days left in Toronto
Maple Leaf: "A third major league is inevitable"

In the early 20th century, Canada had its advantage: for the first time that the sheer use of drugs, particularly cocaine, was becoming a major problem in urban areas.

A person addicted to his habit use is known as a cocaine addict. In a later stage they are described as cocaine addicts. When on the verge of suicide for need of the drug they are said to have "the cocaine bugs."

Cocaine is usually related to the victims by illicit vendors in small paper packages of about the size and shape of a postage stamp. These are called "decks," and contain a couple of sniffs. Ordinarily, these cost a dollar apiece, but if the purchaser is dis-



'The air was filled with liquid golden arrows'



FIGHTING THE DRUGMENACE!

By Magistrate Emily F. Murphy
(February 15, 1963)

tempered for need of it, the vendor may extract two dollars or even more.

The general rule is that addiction is present mainly in youths from 16 to 21 years of age. This is really the development age, Narcotics hinder development, and boys and girls are forever wrecked while off in a development period. Distracted parents come pleading for aid and advice: "The complaint is always the same, i.e. 'If we only knew the first sign of this dreadful curse we could have saved the boy'."



1965 cover: a war on 'cocaine addicts'

My 12 hours as a MADMAN

By Sidney Katz (October 1, 1963)

Hours before the psychedelic '60s, Katz sampled LSD as a volunteer in a study into schizophrenia conducted at the Saskatchewan Hospital in Regina

On the morning of Thursday, June 18, 1963, I swallowed a drug which, for twelve unforgettable hours, turned me into a madman. For twelve hours I inhabited a nightmare world in which I experienced the terrors of hell and the ecstasies of heaven.

I will never be able to describe fully what happened to me during my excruciating 12 hours. There are no words in the English language designed to convey the sensations I felt or the visions, delusions, hallucinations, colors, patterns and dimensions which my disordered mind revealed. I saw the faces of familiar friends turn into featureless skulls and the heads of meandering snakes, pigs and warts. The gently patterned carpet at my feet was transformed into a fabulous heaving mass of living snakes; part vegetable, part animal. An ordinary sketch of a woman's head and shoulders suddenly spring to life. She moved her head from side to side, eyeing me critically, changing

REMEMBERING THINWAVE

Since its inception in 1905, Maclean's has provided a forum for some of Canada's most talented and best-known writers. Here, three distinguished Canadian journalists—Pierre Berton, an editor at the magazine from 1947 to 1958, June Callwood, a frequent contributor since the 1950s, and Peter C. Newman, former editor and now weekly columnist—offer their reminiscences and thoughts on Maclean's and its times.

An unruly gang of unashamed nationalists

BY PIERRE BERTON

For any journalist, Maclean's in the Fifties was the place to be. Every writer in the country wanted to have his byline in Canada's National Magazine, even though the lines were not strict, and the editing was so tough that many aspirants were forced to rewrite their submissions five or seven times. The magazine had undergone a sea change in the mid-Forties when Arthur Lewis had become editor and determined to hire the best staff in the country, and to fulfil the magazine's mandate, in his words, of "interpreting Canada to Canadians."

Everything from Franklin D. Roosevelt's color paintings to Yousef Karaki's photography influenced this media. Maclean's spoke to Canadians—and only to Canadians. Articles from foreign climes were written from a Canadian point of view by such luminaries as Bruce Hutchison, Blair Fraser and Ezzell Shapiro. Hollywood stars were profiled only if they had a Canadian background.

Although our creaky presses made it impossible to get anything to print in less than two months, the magazine was successful in staying on the forefront of the news. Maclean's reported on the social truths of the day, such as the rise of the supermarket and the suburban shopping centres, and the great discovery of oil in Leduc, and even in Labrador. It profiled every up-and-coming politician, business tycoon and artist. Maclean's looked at both the future and, through its Flashback series, at Canada's past. A. Maclean's editor, sociologist Sidney Katz, was the first journalist to take LEO and also to report on



the phenomenon of multiple personality. In those days, Canadians did not move around as they do now; there was no Trans-Canada Highway, the jet airplane was in the future, and so Maclean's gave Canadians a geography lesson, profiling every major city (and several minor ones), describing the rivers, mountains and Shield, concentrating on the North in a special issue, and devoting whole sections to the regions of the country.

We were in a very gay, as I remember, chiding and screwing at each other (but always in good humor) in the regular Friday editorial meetings, because we used—we all loved the magazine and we were committed to it. We were unashamedly patriotic; we absorbed a pride in country first from Lewis, then from his successor, Ralph Allen. We did not try to compete with American magazines on their turf, but we knew they could not compete with us on ours. These were brilliant years at Maclean's and the pages of Maclean's reflected the great self-confidence that was then a Canadian trait. I have in my library a set of bound volumes of the magazine for the years 1947-1950. I sometimes laid them through, and when I do, I recognize some of the spirit of these times. I like to think that a century from now historians will find in these volumes an invaluable insight into the way we were when all of us were convinced that the 20th century belonged to Canada.



the phenomenon of multiple personality. In those days, Canadians did not move around as they do now; there was no Trans-Canada Highway, the jet airplane was in the future, and so Maclean's gave Canadians a geography lesson, profiling every major city (and several minor ones), describing the rivers, mountains and Shield, concentrating on the North in a special issue, and devoting whole sections to the regions of the country.



A voice woven into the dreams of this country

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

In the early 1930s, Maclean's was running out of money, out of purpose and out of time. In its original incarnation as a general interest, not publication, the magazine had set out to become a kind of literary organ of the Canadian way of life. That some of mission had changed—only intensified—but everything else had lasting magazines no longer ranked as a prime leisure-time activity, seeking information had become the second-most popular indoor sport; certainly it was the medium that defined most Canadians' lives.

In 1971, Lloyd Hogganbaum, then the magazine's publisher, asked me to become editor, and we soon decided to turn Maclean's into a weekly or near-weekly. That shift, which involved a huge investment in printing process, a radical revision in editorial staff and the need for at least quadrupled advertising revenues, seemed to be the only way of keeping the publication relevant and alive. It was a gamble, because the newspaper format had virtually been ignored by Time and Newsweek, and some skeptics even warned "there wouldn't be enough Canadian news."

The switch was made more difficult by the fact that our core readership declined year after year in our frequency of publication from 12 to 52 times a year over half a decade, through such revised stages as publishing a newspaper every three weeks. Yet that revolutionary shift in format irreversibly altered Maclean's publishing philosophy. Instead of sitting back idly serving the country's people and



publishing relevant and occasionally witty jottings about the Canadian identity, the magazine began to run for office. By this I mean that we started seriously to compete for people's time and attention. The idea was to be consistently reaching out to readers and creating our readers by offering a clear and urgent snapshot of the realities shaping and challenging their daily lives.

Called by Prime Minister's passage of Bill C-58, which eliminated the tax concessions supplied by Canadian editors of foreign-owned publications, the plan worked. By 1982, when I took the editor's chair to become one of the magazine's columnists and a freelance author, Maclean's was safely in the black. Maclean's had established itself in its fresh incarnation. From that shaky beginning evolved today's lively newspaper that has turned into a significant voice, authorizing the Canadian experience. Maclean's has become a valuable and significant franchise, recently boosted by the enthusiasm and commitment of its new owners, Ted Rogers and his merry gang of media-media moguls.

On his 90th birthday, Maclean's is woven into the dreams and memories of this country. In a subconscious mind ours—a land with 13 provinces, five regions, two official languages, and 30 million citizens in search of an author—only a magazine like this one has the mandate, the scope and the talent to pull together the essential ingredients of a world that's changing as we walk in it.

At no time in Canadian history have we been more in need of a platform that would allow the country to speak to itself. Providing precisely such an invaluable national echo chamber defies Maclean's mandate. Only by sharing our dreams and our perceptions will this Canada survive and prosper. The country lies out there, magnificently unknowable, waiting for us to write about, for us to read about—and all of us to believe in.

'We'd like a piece on the universe—in two weeks'

BY JUNE CALLWOOD

Maclean's in the '50s and '60s liked to write and editors like the besting heart of the country. Because Canada was in the doldrums, television was in its infancy, and newspapers lacked snap, it was possible to believe that the best journalism anywhere was happening at the brain Maclean's. Among the gang of friends who dominated the scene were Ralph Allen, Trent

Frayne, Herb Manning and Scott Young, known as the Winnipeg Mafia, Pierre Berton, Barbara Meen, Christina McCall, Peter Newman, Max Trailblazer and, later, Peter Gorenfeld and Robert Pollard. Some of these people produced the art of the four-monthly search, in spite of which Maclean's became a four-year magazine that took the craft from paste and puff pieces to something very close to fiction.

The Maclean's writers, as we called ourselves, spent our days in heavily mortgaged bungalows, raising children, and our weekends cooking vast quantities of beef Stroganoff for large, noisy dinner parties, which were the ramblings of the magazine's social life and its editorial life. Like improvisational performers, the writers and editors missed Maclean's as they went along. A word like vision would have caused them to



smile, but in truth they had a noble ambition: they wanted the magazine to create. They wished to be good of themselves. Their enthusiasm was incredible, and their occasionally juvenile behavior stemmed the whole Maclean's House establishment. The editor was proud one evening as he sat at the head table of a formal banquet to address his senior staff through him at one another.

"The editing was so wonderfully witty. The scribble on a manuscript 'manga' 'Who' entered the list, meaning 'Identify the person.' And also, in a memorable Ralph Allen criticism of a writer's editorial piece, 'Give this man a box of Snickers.'"

"Snail's," was a euphemism, meaning the hapless writer would never see his work in print again.

"We all thought we could do anything. Pierre Berton phoned me one day and said, 'World like a piece on the universe.' 'The universe,' I said, 'a baby on my lap, not sure I had heard right.' 'Yes, the universe,' he said, impatient that the conversation was dragging on. 'Deadline in two weeks.'"

"Five," I said, and we both hung up. That's what I remember best, the confidence, the optimism. The Maclean's gang, all of us in our twenties and thirties, had seen the Great Depression of the '30s. Most of the men had been to war; about which they said only casual highlights, though the fluorescent lunches were not unrelated to the assemblable horrors they put aside to review another time.

In contrast to the poverty and loss we had known, Canada in mid-century seemed a place of affluence abundance and infinite promise. We Canadians were building the Arrow, the latest jet plane in the world; we were raising a bumper crop of babies; we were advancing on the 100th birthday of our splendid nation with a new flag; there were plenty of jobs in the sun and every boy had new skates. Maclean's covered it all with ease, and the magazine's contents sang with the fan of being alive in such a time. Like Canada, we believed in ourselves. We were invincible. We thought the good times would never end, not for us, and certainly not for the country we loved.

nary shoring of interests in the spiritual as well as in the business worlds." Arroyo Varley "It's unacceptably wonderful to find someone you can rely on who isn't a wimp."

But she seizes that they landed home from their honeymoon when her apartment with the other is couple a book on Mother Teresa, presumably a final statement. Many of Varley's beliefs—including the importance of making abortion available in certain medical cases—stood at odds with those of her subject. The research trip to India would also prevent her from sharing her final Christmas with her new husband. But in the end, she accepted the job. Learning about Hitchens' planned attack on her subject was not what motivated her, she says, but it "was the factor that pushed me to meet the deadline."

On key first day in Calcutta, she was pulled by her subject's mix of pity and indignation. In the midst of previous projects, Mother Teresa noted someone had left an air light. "She gathered herself up off the floor to turn it off," Varley recalls. "I loved her right there." Her experience at the mission also had a profound personal effect. "I never there would be a big issue in this for me—how I put my faith into action."

Already, last year, she had sold her agency, running only a handful of writers—among them Anthony Doyle, Douglas Angove, Martin Woodhouse and Benbow—before several British Ministry who won this year's prestigious Giller Prize for Canadian fiction with his novel *A Prayer for Peace*. "It was such a surprise for me," Varley says. "That what reached a lot of people was that I was changing." Last month, she and Della Costa celebrated these changes by throwing a joint book launch for her new theology and her published appeal for a new and more vibrant Catholic Church in Canada (Stoddard). And in a waterlogged room on the second floor of the very town house she shares, when a statue of the Virgin Mary resides in the front garden and a Buddha sits on the back deck, Varley offers Gestalt therapy and yoga to a select clientele while leading a new studio of writers who concentrate on the spiritual.

As a former marketing whiz, she is not unaware that her own changes mirror a larger spiritual search: narrowly embracing society. And at a time when more people appear to be turning away from religion than joining, Varley admits that Hitchens' radical attacks have proved an unexpected boon to her books. "The reaction is more explosive," she says, "because they're being received together." □

THE MESSIANIC ATHEIST

In the opening section of a Toronto bistro, Christopher Hitchens opens a dossier on a button in his latest legal onslaught "All the right enemies." For Hitchens, 46, it is no idle claim. Even before he launched his provocative one-man crusade against Mother Teresa as "an agent phony" and the "ghost of Calcutta"—not to mention the epitome he hurled at her in his new book, *The Messianic Position: Mother Teresa in Theory and in Practice*—he had already won notoriety as the bad boy of transatlantic journalism for taking out and con-



Hitchens: he calls Mother Teresa a 'phony'

ventional wisdom in high places, usually from a right-wing perspective.

A column regular in the London weekly *The Spectator*, he ran one of conservative press last Grand Black 15 years ago with an unbridled critique of former U.S. president Ronald Reagan. So bitter did their mutual invective become that Hitchens was shuttled north when another of Black's publications, *Saturday Night*, attacked Mother Teresa's devotion. Lucinda Varley, almost as vigorously as it did her "insane substance" and "silly writing sarcasm," marvelled Hitchens. "It's the kindest treatment I ever hoped to have from Mr. Black." That risk for a good fight and an electric wit inspired *Nearly Fair* editor Greydon Carter to make Hitchens his first hire when he took over the upscale glossy more than three years ago. "Every magazine needs a Peck's Bad Boy," Carter says. "He's always very much being the ankle of the overdog."

Hitchens' opening shots against Mother Teresa drew back to his column in *The*

Nation during the last U.S. presidential primaries. In April 1992, he warned his preferred Democratic candidate, former California governor Jerry Brown, against flouting his to the sun he branded "a dangerous, sinister person who properly belongs in the subbase of the Pat Buchanan baggage train." He went on to make the same case he would later assemble for his 1994 documentary *He's Angry*, on Britain's Channel 4. As evidence of Mother Teresa's unenviable political connections, he cited her 1981 visit to Haiti to accept a Legion d'honneur from Michèle Duvivier, wife of the tyrant better known as Baby Doc, a return trip to her native Albania, where she laid a bouquet on the grave of Shengavit doctor Enver Hoxha, and her acceptance of a \$13-million cheque from convicted U.S. savings and loan lender Charles Keating, on whose behalf she penned a letter pleading for clemency to Judge Lance Ili, later of O. J. Simpson last time.

But in *The Nation*, Hitchens also hinted at his own sheltered outlook. During a 1980 tour of her Calcutta mission, he confessed, he had been so moved by her on-photos that he was about to cough up a donation when Mother Teresa stared him with a political threat: "You see," she said, "this is how we fight abortion and contraception." No champion of abortion himself, Hitchens reported that she had "spilled her own best blood for me by implying that her life's work was a mere exercise in propaganda for the Vatican's population policy."

Now he hammers at Hitchens' theories that he betrays the attitudes of "a deeply religious person." But his own complex religious history might provide proof for a psychologist's study. The son of a Baptist naval officer, he was sent to a Methodist private school in Cambridge, England—and can still quote scripture back to his opponents. But at 35, he discovered the religion that his mother had taken to his grave—her Jewish roots. The revelation, he admits, "had a veritable effect on me." And now, after choosing the name who once married Marilyn Monroe and Arthur Miller to officiate at his second wedding, to screenwriter Carl Hia, he is contemplating sending his two-year-old daughter to Hebrew school. "I do think it's not to have a tradition," he explains. As for Hitchens, he scoffs at suggestions that, like Malcolm Muggeridge, another celebrated skeptic who wrote on Mother Teresa, he may turn to the church in his old age. "They usually say, 'If you do, you'll burn for a priest,' which I promise I will not do," he insists. "Or if I do, I say, 'I'm here, I won't be expelled.'"

M.M.

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The Guide of the Fire Worshipers: travel by car and camel

BOOKS

'We three kings...'

An adventurer investigates a Christmas legend

JOURNEY OF THE MAGI

By Paul William Roberts
(Stoddart, 384 pages, \$29.95)

On all canals, day trip across the landscape of Christmas with a mysterious nobility that has survived even the most brutal representations. The Three Wise Men have appeared in countless Christmas pageants, children's books, front-yard nativity displays, cartoons and at least one opera—yet they have remained an area of unsatisfiable curiosity, as though their sacred purpose remained fresh after 2,000 years. Scholars have been unable to find any historical basis for the Christmas story of how three kings from the East followed a star to a Bethlehem stable. But now a Toronto-based travel writer, Paul William Roberts, has come up with a theory—and a highly entertaining book—that attempts to put some substance into the tale. *Journey of the Magi* is based on a trip Roberts made through the Middle East in 1993. An adventure story woven with strands of scholarship and wild-eyed speculation, *Journey of the Magi* is one of those books that will thrill the experts, delight general readers and even, perhaps, shed new light on the magi's story.



Roberts, danger and a fast-marched guide

Roberts's quest was sparked by a 19th-century edition of Marco Polo's *Travels*, in which the famous merchant-traveller recounts a story about magi—ancient Persian priests—that was widespread in medieval Persia (today's Iran). A spate of the Persian burial place of magi who had travelled to adore a newly born prophet, and of a tower called the Guide of the Fire Worshipers that was central to their religion. Roberts took those clues literally, spent several months researching them in old, forgotten travel books and other texts, then boarded a plane for Iran. His extraordinary journey took him 2,700 km by car and camel across Iran, Iraq (which he crossed illegally, without a visa), Syria and Israel, finishing in Bethlehem, Jesus' supposed birthplace. Roberts definitely belongs to the "Savage is better" school of travelling. In a sense, he is never happier than when physically miserable, in danger or lost. Indeed, anything short of death or outright mourning is a good end: it makes a good story, of course, but it also strips away the ego's delusions and pours in fresh experiences with a terrible vividness. Across the Middle East Roberts endured bad luck, apocalyptic weather and, in Syria, nearly got his head blown off when he tried to make a pillow of a half-burned head

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BOOKS

ance. But his love had back come in the person of Reza, his fiery, fast-mouthed Iranian guide and translator, who, as Seneca wrote to Robert's Don Quixote, proved a night mare on two legs. Hypoglycemia, Reza was forever slapping to eat, and during the Masheh last period of Ramadan was transformed by low blood sugar into a howling madman.

Reza's excesses are but one source for the wonderful black humor—often verging on slapstick—that permeates *Journey of the Magi*. This is a laugh-out-loud travel book, especially in those passages where Roberts evokes the absurdities that often arise around language barriers. Crossing into Syria, the Welsh boss Roberts trembled with terror when armed guards kept addressing him with words that sounded like "British the!" (I turned out they only wanted to chat about Princess Di).

Roberts believes he found the Iranian burial place of the magi following local lore; he thinks there were two wives, not three—the Bible stipulates as number) near the present-day city of Susa. And in a highly evocative passage he describes how he discovered the Cradle of the Fire Worshipers in a remote alpine valley (Typically Reza stayed in the car and slept through all the excitement.) Roberts, who hustled as successfully through archaeological and travellers' accounts for a mention of the site, speculated that he may be the first Westerner since Polo to visit it.

Following other scholars, Roberts identifies the magi as priests of Zoroastrianism. That ancient Iranian religion influenced many other faiths, including the Eusebeia, a continuity of Jewish sources that may have included Jesus himself. Roberts theorizes that the magi made their journey to Bethlehem in order to lead a rit within the Ex-amen. Its members were divided over whether to become more worldly and politically involved—or to continue practicing a more meditative Zoroastrianism, born of war ship based on telltale knowledge and good works. (Later, a similar debate between ex-shedon church members and granites would divide early Christians.) But apart from indicating that the magi ignored the Zoroastrian side of the argument, Roberts has uncovered nothing clear or convincing about how they interpreted or what their actions had to do with Jesus' birth.

It makes an attractive thesis, the magi travelling west to nourish the flame of a more irreligious, contemplative faith in the hope that they could stave the growth of the more prosaic approach that marked mainstream Judaism and later, Christianity. Had they succeeded in such a quest, the subsequent history of Western civilization might have been very different. But is concrete trips, there is no proof that the magi were doing what Roberts says they were. *Journey of the Magi* rests mainly on faith, and a fine researcher's plausible imaginings.

JOHN BENDERSON

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BOOKS

The Jews of Spain

Harmony preceded their expulsion in 1492

THE END OF DAYS

By Erez Pariz
(Center, 337 pages, \$28.95)

For the inhabitants of the Americas, it is Columbus's historic voyage that defines 1492 as a significant date. But the discovery of the New World was only one of a series of momentous events that collectively mark that year as the turning point between medieval and modern Spain. Columbus's sponsors, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, whose marriage in 1469 created Spain from their two realms, also signed an edict that forms the core of Ezra Pariz's powerfully told customary tale; they expelled their Jewish subjects from Spain.

Pariz, a Toronto author whose previous works include a study of the French role of George Armstrong Custer's Battle (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2003), turns here to the central tragedy of medieval Jewry. Although the expulsion was the culmination of a century of increasing intolerance, forcible conversions and pogroms, that bleak period had its soft spots preceded by centuries of peaceful co-existence with Muslims and Christians. Spain was, in once the heartland of European Jewry, the place of its greatest cultural achievements and the home of the only multi-religious society in Western Europe.

What remains for contemporary readers is Pariz's painstaking re-creation of the process, little changed from 15th-century Spain to 20th-century Yugoslavia, by which the majority society turned its minority neighbours into aliens in its midst. Hundreds of years of past co-existence melted hardily at all as Jews came to be seen as poison in the body politic.

All over Europe, the essential disasters of the 14th century—worsening climate, plague and endemic warfare—virtually destroyed the social order for decades. In medieval Spain, the Christian's usual opponents, the Jews, were greater in number and prominence than anywhere else. As Christian military success against the Muslim states of the south altered the balance of power among the three religious groups, Spain's Christians began to enrage Spanish Jews as outsiders whose very presence was an offence to God.

Movements arose whose mission was to convert the Jews to Christianity, forcibly if necessary. Harried by papal laws and increasing violence, thousands of Jews (especially those of the higher social classes)

were baptised, swelling the ranks of a new social group, the conversos. But newly Christianised Jews did not abandon their ancestral customs or homes in the Jewish quarter. And for the intolerant, the "otherness" that so troubled them continued.

Soon the conversos were under the same attack as Jews, viewed as no different from their ancestors. Medieval antisemitism was metamorphosing into its even more horrifying modern incarnation, the "hate" no longer stemmed from religious faith (which could be rectified by baptism) but by inculcation in the blood. By the mid-15th century the first "pure blood" statutes were enacted, excluding anyone of Jewish descent from holding office. In the end, in the fatal year of 1492, the king and queen proclaimed their own Edict of Seville, the Edict of Expulsion. Given three months to leave, Jews who refused to convert departed for the Ottoman Empire, North Africa and the low countries.

Pariz presents the entire story with consummate skill and balance, managing the difficult task of describing the decimation of the Jews without himself demonstrating the Christians. And it is his frequent criticism to the courage and decency of those few Christians who defied the laws and aided by their Jewish neighbors that provides the only note of hope in a depressing story that has been repeated so many times since.



Pariz: social disorder led to hatred

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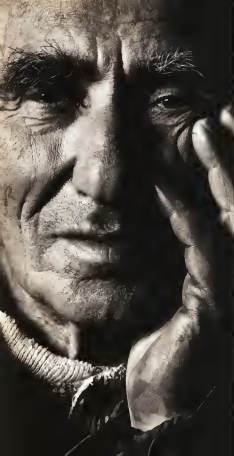
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Scene from *Sense and Sensibility* with Thompson (right) shy not

FILMS

A sense of déjà vu

Retro is the word for much of the holiday fare

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

As it grows the holiday season, Hollywood seems fixated on the convenience of things past. Canals return to the White House in *The American President*; vintage gangsters play a Vegas version of *Pulp Fiction* in *Jackie*; and James Bond returns to his favorite to kill in *GoldenEye*. Even the wildly innovative *Toy Story* derives on nostalgia for classic toys. Now, with the latest batch of pre-Christmas movies, the retro trend continues.

Nixon marks a watershed redaction in director Oliver Stone's quest to perform cinematic therapy on his nation's past. And when Hollywood's most avid conspiracy theorist applies himself to America's most paranoid president, the alchemy is potent indeed. The largest sequel to *JFK* (1993)—and to his entire oeuvre of recovered memory crime from the Vietnam War—the director's new opus is a glibric melodrama portraying Richard Nixon as a tragic hero played with mesmerizing intensity by Anthony Hopkins, svensk heading as his upsurge by Stone's Nixon is scared, selfish, vindictive, paranoid and delusional, a pathological liar haunted by ghosts, tormented by guilt and driven by a crushing inferiority complex. But he is not evil. In fact, he ends up being strangely sympathetic—the tyrant as a victim of history.

Like *JFK*, the movie is a loosey-weese of drama and documentary, color and black and white. A preface uses words such as "hyperbolic" and "conspire" to indicate that the border between fact and fiction is blurred. But unlike *JFK*, which unfolds in a wild collage of evidence, *Nixon* has no need to grovel. It focuses on a character, not an event. And everything depends on Hopkins. He takes more getting used to at first, but the actor makes the role his own—so often that when the real Nixon appears in a clip at the end he looks like an impostor.

Hopkins is surrounded by an aggressive cast. Joan Allen makes a superb foil as Nixon's wife Pat, a woman torn between loyal affection and later contempt. Jessica Woods and J. T. Walsh bring crisp realism to their roles as aides H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. Paul Sorvino makes a wonderful by-lapinsman Henry Kissinger. And Bob Odenkirk's decadence as J. Edgar Hoover.

Plotting his story on the Watergate crisis, Stone constructs a high-voltage drama that arcs between politics and psychomania. He traces Nixon's crimes of infidelity against the American people right back to a boyhood scene of his strict Quaker mother (Mary Steenburgen) catching him on a lie. And Nixon daringly admits that his path to the White House was paved by lies. These of his two brothers—who died of tuberculosis when he was a child, putting

pressure on him to succeed—and those of the assassinated Kennedy brothers.

Nixon's journey of the Kennedy assassination becomes a chronic obsession. Although the film does not directly implicate him in an assassination plot, it links Nixon to a nightmare cabal of Texas and Cuban conspirators who, it implies, were involved. And throughout the movie, there is a sense that he harbored secrets more sinister than anything that has come to light.

Stone arrests Nixon with a sacred darkness. Showdown find a gurgling cast to meet's locus, and creepy thriller music haunts the sound track. Spanning more than three hours, the narrative spells everything out with a heavy hand, and credibility occasionally suffers. But regardless of its veracity, *Nixon* is great drama. And as the labyrinthine work of his subject, Stone seems to have found his alter ego. Advocating the bombing of Cambodia, Nixon says "You've got to electively people with bold moves." That is exactly what the director has done.

Heat, which comes from another filmmaker not known for subtlety, cracks up nostalgia for the 1980s, of all things. Director Michael Mann helped define that decade of excess with *Miami Heat*, which combined rock music, brutal gangster and combat music to create a TV show that wouldn't like a drug war. Now, after getting lost in the woods with *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992), Mann's back doing what he does best. *Heat* is Miami Vice writ large in Los Angeles, with rock-concert sound, more movies—and much better actors. A showdown between Robert De Niro and Al Pacino sounds almost too good to be true.

De Niro plays Neil, a hardened criminal whose "crew" pulls off big-time robberies with painstaking precision. Pacino plays



Pearls of wisdom worth preserving

BY ALLAN POTTINGER

It's been a vintage year for those viewing the human comedy. It is a difficult time for a professional humorist when there are so many mistakes around.

"The Prince has not been on the couch."
—A friend of Prince Charles, on the news that the heir to the throne has visited stress expert Dr. Alan McGlashan, 90, the psychiatrist who counseled Diana during their marriage crisis.

"What glow don't fit, you must acquire."
—Johnny Cochran.
"I go for smart girls, honest girls. I like them to be independent and confident—but not too confident."

—Mike Tyson.
"He's a stupid dove who couldn't get a job in business, which is why he went into politics."
—Frank Sinatra, referring to his friend Ronald Reagan in Shirley MacLaine's new memoirs.

"It's amazing what a broad will do for a bitch."
—Sentin on MacLaine's book.
"I've played in some cold war cities, like Green Bay and Buffalo, and I hear it can get worst up in Canada. Any player over the ice in the cold weather during a game up there?"

—Billy Jay Talker, quarterback of the CFL team in Louisiana, Shreveport Pirates.
"He looks smaller in his slacks."
—A New York police officer, on seeing nude photographs of fellow cop Edward Madala in Playboy.

"At the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in Poland, which I once visited with Anne, even the Nazis didn't obstruct and force Jews to pass or to defend. They probably weren't suffering, as the gas chambers."

—Justice Jean Beaudry of Quebec Superior Court while sentencing a woman to life in prison for murdering her husband by slitting his throat with a razor blade.

"These are matters of conscience and conscience is not always a matter of logic."

—Justice Minister Allan Rock.
"I was never explicitly thinking of myself as one of the most important people in the world. In retrospect it was true, but at the time I didn't realize it."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton.
"Marriage doesn't set me and with me. I like the part about having a husband it's being the only I don't think."

—Cybil Shepherd.
"It has never been a man's world—they only think it is."

—Patrick Clere, Britain's first female chief constable.
"We were both attracted by a trap."

—John Wayne (R.I.P.), comparing himself to Nicole Brown Simpson.
"If we had God looked and O.J. was available, we'd never God."

—Larry King.
"We are lovers, it's true. But by what?"

—Henry and the others only.
—Jacques Fournier.
"There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded."

—Diana, Princess of Wales.
"The never had a fatal disease."

—Judy Barne, host of CBC Toronto's *Myo Horvath*.
"It's scarier than my wife when I come home drunk."

—Japan Trade Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto on his American adversary, Mickey Kantor.
"Except for his tendency to get angry, arrogant and vulgar, he is the most civilized."

—Former Japanese PM Noboru Takeshita on Hashimoto's prospects for the office.
"Women have climbed higher on the scale of virtue, higher than men, and I have always believed that. But people say and I believe it, that when they feel, women reach a level of honesty that the most able men could not reach."

—Justice Jean Beaudry.
"First I stopped a bicycle, car and a street car. Now, I'm going to stop a train."

—one left in his suitcase by Russian psychot broker E. Frenkel, who stepped in front of a freight train in Astrakhan with the passenger terrified, his arms crossed, his head lowered and his body teared.
"Last night, I did something completely insane."

—Hugh Grant.
"I would like to finish this one sometime this lifetime."

—Judge Lance Igo.
"I'm very much in love. I could have married this fair young girl if I'd just wanted to get rich."

—32-year-old model Anna Nicole Smith, in June, on carrying 30-year-old Texas oil baron J. Howard Marshall II, who has since died.
"Teenagers are too young for sex. My theory is, don't do it before you're 20—and then don't tell me about it."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton.
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